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MEMOIRS OF AN EX-MINISTER

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MEMOIRS OF AN EX-MINISTER

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE

EARL OF MALMESBURY, G.C.B.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

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MEMOIRS OF AN EX-MINISTER.

1855

Mr. Disraeli to Lord M.

Carlton: January 6, 1855.

My dear M.,—I found your note on our arrival in town to-day from Hughenden *en route* for Wynyard. I do not think, however, that I shall be able to depart for that latter place before Wednesday morning; so if you have anything to say, I shall have a London post Monday and Tuesday; after that, Wynyard, Stockton-on-Tees.

Notwithstanding all that has happened, and the no longer mistakable disgust and indignation of the country with the present Ministry, I think it will last. The House of Commons is determined not to turn them out until their successors are indicated. Waiting for a strong Government, the weak one will proceed.

I fear that Seymour will be going to the House of Lords, which I regret, as I always looked to the possibility of his taking a leading part in the reconstruction of parties.

The Duke of Bucks has just told me that Glengall is dying at Bretby. This is sad; and that poor, dear Lord Ponsonby is in a hopeless state.

The Court will not break up the Government in order that a pure Whig Ministry may be formed.—Yours ever,

D.

January 9th.—Lord Hardinge tells me that the Duke of Newcastle had never consulted him on any subject connected with the war; and that he had never seen a single despatch except those that had been published in the news-

papers. As he is Commander-in-Chief and a great soldier, this appears incredible; but no one can doubt his word for a moment, and his uncontrolled anger confirms his account.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

St. James's Square: January 23, 1855.

My dear Malmesbury,—

. . . . . .

Great rumours of the Government breaking up, great indignation at their conduct, and great and reasonable alarm for the fate of our army. Disraeli agrees with me as to the patience policy—indeed he wishes to carry it even further than I do. Our people, however, will be very hard to hold.

. . . . . .

Ever yours sincerely, DERBY.

January 26th.—A letter this morning from Lord Lonsdale,[1] telling me that Lord John Russell had resigned, as he would not oppose Mr. Roebuck's motion for an inquiry into the way in which the war had been conducted. Lord Aberdeen went to Windsor immediately after the Cabinet Council, and yesterday Lord John's resignation was announced in both Houses.

January 27th.—Lord Lonsdale again writes that Lord John has resigned on account of the mismanagement of the war. He gave this explanation himself last night in the Commons, and Lord Aberdeen read a letter to the same effect in the Lords and seemed very angry, but announced that the Government would await the result of Mr. Roebuck's motion before deciding what course they would pursue. Damaging as Lord John's speech explaining his conduct is

[1] Lord Lonsdale had held the office of Postmaster-General under Sir R. Peel. He had a very large fortune and great Parliamentary influence in Cumberland and Westmoreland, returning five members in these districts, and he owed it as much to his natural shrewdness and sagacity as to his wealth. He died in 1874, aged eighty-four.

to the Government, it is much more so to himself, for his reasons appear quite insufficient to justify his deserting his colleagues and risking to throw the whole country into confusion at such a crisis as this. He says that on November 17 he suggested to Lord Aberdeen that it would be advisable that the office of Secretary for the War Department and that of Secretary at War should be held by the same person, and that it should be given to Palmerston. Lord Aberdeen objected, on the ground of its being unfair and unjust to the Duke of Newcastle to remove him from his post without strong grounds for doing so. Lord John, upon this refusal of Lord Aberdeen, threatened to resign. Being, however, urged by Lord Palmerston and others of his friends not to press the matter further, he consented to give it up, and the subject was not again named by him till Saturday, January 20, when, a proposal being made in the Cabinet which he thought incomplete and insufficient, he gave Lord Aberdeen a paper containing his own views on the subject.

To this it appears he received no answer, and, thinking it unlikely that his views would be adopted, he determined on Tuesday night, January 23, to read his resignation to Lord Aberdeen, to whom he wrote the following letter:—

Chesham Place: January 23, 1855.

My dear Lord Aberdeen,—Mr. Roebuck has given notice of a motion to inquire into the conduct of the War. I do not see how this motion is to be resisted, as it involves a censure upon the War Department, with which some of my colleagues are connected. My only course is to tender my resignation. I therefore have to request you will lay my humble resignation of the office which I have the honour to hold, before the Queen, with the expression of my gratitude for Her Majesty's kindness for many years.

I remain, &c. &c. JOHN RUSSELL.

Lord John at the beginning of his speech explained the

reason he could not resist. Mr. Roebuck's motion was such as could only be opposed on two grounds :—

1st. That no evils existed of sufficient magnitude to call for inquiry.

2nd. That if such did exist they would be best cured by other means, and that, being unable to say 'It is true evils do exist, but such arrangements have been made that all deficiencies and abuses will be immediately remedied,' he could only come to one conclusion, that as he was unable to give the only answer that would stop inquiry, it was his duty not to remain a member of the Government.

Lord Palmerston, in reply to this speech, said 'he admitted Lord John might have a difficulty in meeting Mr. Roebuck's motion, but it was evident he thought that there were in his mind sufficient constitutional objections to that motion, and if he was decidedly of opinion that a different person ought to be at the head of the War Department, he should have given the Government an opportunity before Parliament met of saying whether the proposal should be adopted. The course he had taken was not in accordance with the usual practice of public men, and was calculated to place the Government in a position of embarrassment.'

After these explanations, Mr. Roebuck brought on his motion for a Select Committee 'to inquire into the condition of our army before Sebastopol, and into the conduct of those departments of the Government whose duty it has been to minister to the wants of that army.'

Mr. Sidney Herbert, Sir George Grey, Mr. Monckton Milnes, and Mr. Vernon Smith spoke against the motion, Mr. Layard, Mr. Walpole, &c., for it. Lord Palmerston agreed to the adjournment, upon the distinct understanding that there should be no further one upon this question.

January 30th.—It is expected that Government will go out whether they are beaten on Mr. Roebuck's motion or not, and that they will re-form under Lord Palmerston, Gladstone and Sidney Herbert to stay in. The general opinion about Lord John is that he resigned in the hopes of being called upon to form a new Government, but he has lost himself by this move. The accounts from the Crimea are dreadful. Only 18,000 effective men; 14,000 are dead and 22,000 sick. The same neglect which has hitherto prevailed continues, and is shown in everything. No precaution is taken at Balaclava about the ammunition, of which there are three or four thousand tons. Officers and soldiers are allowed to smoke pipes and cigars in the midst of these stores.

February 2nd, Heron Court.—Lord Aberdeen has resigned. I came down here yesterday, but before I left London Lord Derby sent for me, to tell me that he had been summoned by the Queen, and entrusted with the formation of a new Government, the present one having resigned. He added that Her Majesty, of her own accord, has expressed a wish that I should return to the Foreign Office, to which I agreed. He then stated he had afterwards seen Lord Palmerston. who seemed inclined to join us, and that Lord Ellenborough would be War Minister. Lord Derby appeared in high spirits and confident of success, and when I told him I should like to go to Heron Court for forty-eight hours to settle my private affairs, he consented, saying, 'Make haste back, you will find everything settled by that time.'

Mr. George Bentinck aroused us at four in the morning, arriving from London, to say that Lord Derby had failed in forming a Government, Lord Palmerston having thrown him over, and giving as a reason the immense majority

against him and his colleagues; that Lord Derby went immediately to Windsor and told the Queen he was unable under present circumstances to undertake the Government, and that he advised Her Majesty to form one in the best way she could. If it failed, he would then try with his own friends. Nothing could be more marked than Her Majesty's cordiality. Disraeli told all this to Mr. Bentinck, in order that he should repeat it to me.

February 4th.—Lord John Russell is trying to form a Government, but the Peelites[1] will not join him, and no wonder, after his conduct to his late colleagues. His own party is too weak to stand alone, so that if Her Majesty will not have Lord Palmerston, it is probable that she will send again for Lord Derby, who has promised then to undertake the task. I put no faith in this speculation, as, however much she may dislike a Minister, she will always do what she believes to be her duty to the country, and sacrifice her private feelings to her patriotism.

I returned to London with Mr. Bentinck.

February 5th.—Lord John having failed, Lord Palmerston is entrusted by the Queen to form a Government.

February 6th.—Lord Derby tells me that he had hopes of Lord Palmerston at one time, and if he had joined, Lord Clarendon would have taken the Foreign Office, in which case he would have asked me to give it up to him; to which I replied with perfect truth, that I should have been delighted to do so, as my health had suffered the last time I

[1] Gladstone, Graham, and Sidney Herbert.

was at the Foreign Office from the anxiety and fatigue of such a laborious place.

Palmerston has succeeded, and his Government will be composed of all the 'old lot,' except Lord Aberdeen, the Duke of Newcastle, and Lord John Russell.

Lord Derby's refusal to undertake the Government has been a great disappointment and great offence to his party. When I left him on the 1st, I never saw him more determined, and I do not know what suddenly discouraged him and made him throw up the game. The declaration of the new Government and Lord Derby's explanation come on to-morrow, so I cannot leave London.

February 8th.—Lord Panmure is War Minister. Snow continues, with a north-east wind and hard frost.

February 9th.—Lord Derby in his explanation last night repeated what he said four years ago as an excuse for refusing to take the Government—namely, 'that he could not govern with his own party without extraneous aid.' He praised the Peelites, talked disparagingly of his own friends, and of course his speech this time is much more damaging to them than the former one in 1852, for then they were untried, and the worst that could be said was that they were inexperienced; but now he says (at least his words may be so interpreted) that they have been tried and have failed. Disraeli went the morning of his explanation, and begged of him to say nothing against his party. In spite of this warning he makes a long speech praising his opponents and disparaging his friends. There is no doubt in my mind that his bad health during the last two years, and his physical sufferings from gout, which have been excessive,

have shaken his nerve and robbed him of much of his former courage and energy. Disraeli is in a state of disgust beyond all control; he told me he had spoken his mind to Lord Derby, and told him some very disagreeable truths. He charges me, most absurdly, with being to blame for this *fiasco* by leaving Lord Derby at the critical moment when he required support and encouragement. There can be no doubt, if the Russian War ends successfully and we take Sebastopol, that Lord Derby will have missed a great opportunity, and lost the glory and prestige of the Minister (whoever he may be) who brings the war to a successful end.

That is what I would certainly have told him, had I been present, and no more.

It seems that Lord Ellenborough was quite ready to join us, and would have been a great addition as a colleague. When Lord Aberdeen resigned Lord Ellenborough came up to Lord Derby in the House of Lords and said the Queen was sure to send for him. Lord Derby replied, 'Well, if so, I hope you will help me.' 'Help you!' said Lord Ellenborough, 'I will carry a musket for you!' and then added, 'But mind one thing. When you go to the Queen, do not leave the room without kissing hands.' His master-mind saw the necessity for firmness. I think it was more error of judgment than timidity in Lord Derby, for he thought that no one but himself could form a Government after Lord John and Lord Palmerston had failed, and that he would come in on his own terms. He said to me, 'I shall then be a most powerful Minister.'

February 11th, Heron Court.—The thermometer went down to 12° last night, twenty degrees of frost. We cannot

help thinking of our poor soldiers in the Crimea in this desperate weather.

February 12th.—Lord Derby and Mr. Bentinck arrived from London. The former said that if the Conservatives would only be patient, we should certainly be in office before long. I forgot to mention that he had invited Gladstone to join him, who had refused.

February 13th.—Lord Derby, Mr. Bentinck, and I went out shooting wild-fowl. No boy of sixteen could have enjoyed it more than Lord Derby. Eager as everybody is for this peculiar sport, I never saw any one so keen. We killed six or seven varieties, among which were three white-fronted geese.

February 18th.—It appears, from Lord Palmerston's speech on the 16th, that when Lord Derby asked him to join in forming a Government and proposed to admit Messrs. Gladstone and Herbert into his Cabinet, that he also insisted upon having Lord Clarendon as Foreign Secretary. If he had agreed to this, Lord Palmerston, with these three men and the leadership in the House of Commons, would have been the real Premier and omnipotent in the Cabinet. Last Friday, when Palmerston tried to persuade the House to allow the inquiry into the state of the army to be conducted by the Government instead of a committee of the Commons, it laughed in his face, and men of all parties, some his own friends, declared they would vote for the committee. The navvies have arrived at Balaclava and have begun the rail-road.

February 21st.—Lord Derby had a meeting of his party,

which, after passing a vote of confidence in him, went away quite satisfied.

February 22nd.—Another heavy fall of snow. When is this terrible winter coming to an end? The papers to-day announce the resignation of Sir James Graham, Gladstone, and Herbert. The motives are supposed to be their unwillingness to face the committee of inquiry into the state of the army. This conduct will, I should think, lower them in the opinion of the country. They first refused to join Lord Derby, and stopped Lord Palmerston, who was ready to do so, by promising to take office under him. They thus prevented a strong Government from being formed, and, having induced Lord Palmerston to accept the Premiership, on the understanding that he would have their assistance, they now leave him in the lurch at a moment of great danger and difficulty. Bad as Lord John's conduct was, this is a thousand times worse.

February 25th.—The three Peelite ex-Ministers—Gladstone, Graham, and Herbert—have made their explanation in the House of Commons. Lord Palmerston slept through Gladstone's speech, and nearly broke down in his own. He appears to be failing under the fatigue and difficulty of his position.

There is no doubt that Louis Napoleon is going to the Crimea, in spite of the entreaties of all his Ministers and of Lord John Russell, who is passing through Paris on his way to Berlin and Vienna. The Russians have attacked Eupatoria, and been repulsed by Omar Pasha and his Turks. The Russians, commanded by Liprandi, lost 500 killed and wounded.

February 27th.—Lord Palmerston has patched up his Cabinet, by admitting Lord John to the Colonies and Sir Charles Wood to the Admiralty.

March 3rd.—The Emperor Nicholas died yesterday between twelve and one o'clock, at St. Petersburg, of pulmonary apoplexy—(query, a broken heart?); it was announced in both Houses, and received with solemn silence. This event may be of immense advantage to us, if our rulers have the talent to profit by it, otherwise it may only serve for a dishonourable peace.

Lord Stanley writes that Louis Napoleon objects strongly to the committee of inquiry into the war; and says, if it takes place, though his army will still act on the same side as ours, it can no longer do so along with it. He is evidently alarmed at the *lâches* of his own Ministers and Generals being shown up to Europe, and endangering his position. Palmerston is much perplexed, and will probably dissolve Parliament as the only means of getting himself out of the scrape of the committee of inquiry, to which he has been forced to consent.

March 11th.—I saw Walewski yesterday, who had received a letter from General Canrobert, saying that the English had 20,000 effective bayonets in the Crimea, and that they were men whose equals did not exist on the face of the earth; men whose iron frames had resisted every fatigue and privation, and whose courage was such that they were invincible. He added that if those 20,000 men were his, he would not exchange them for double the number of any troops of any nation, not even excepting his own. He also said that our newspapers did

a great deal of harm by all the accounts given of the misery of our troops, which are translated and read to the Russian army, and, of course, encourage them to persevere in resisting us. Prince Albert told me yesterday that it was quite true that, when the French came to our assistance at Inkerman, they were staggered by the Russian fire, and their officers asked to have the remnant of the Guards brought up for them to form upon, as they could not otherwise get their men to advance. The Prince praised our officers in the most enthusiastic manner.

The Queen most kindly sent Lady Canning this morning to inquire after Lady Malmesbury, who had been taken ill during dinner at the Palace yesterday.

March 23rd.—I have positive proof that the French Ambassador, Walewski, throughout the late events, has been most active in the intrigue which placed and kept Lord Palmerston in office, both as against Lord John and Lord Derby.

The Emperor has a great admiration for him, and told me once, 'Avec Palmerston, on peut faire des grandes choses.'

March 25th.—We went to Lady Palmerston's party; there was a great crowd. The Walewskis were there; both very reserved and awkward in their manner, which makes me think that they are aware we know of their intrigues against us.

March 31st.—Left London. The English and French Governments have prevailed upon Louis Napoleon to pay a visit to England, the main object being to prevent his going to the Crimea, which he was bent upon. The Queen has in

consequence given them an invitation, which has been accepted. Lady Tankerville called and told me she asked Lady Palmerston yesterday whether it was true that M. Drouyn de l'Huys's mission here was to get Lord John recalled from Vienna. She denied it positively, saying he had come to discuss the third point of the treaty with Austria with the English Government, about which there are some difficulties.

Lady Palmerston complains of Count Walewski's pomposity; she says that the airs he gives himself are quite ridiculous, and that he was much displeased at the arrival of M. Drouyn de l'Huys,[1] being also extremely hurt when Prince Albert went to Boulogne to meet the Emperor.

April 13th, London.—I arrived from Paris, where I had been for a week with Lord Hardwicke. Lord Lansdowne called and told me that the members of the Conference at Vienna smoked a good deal, and one day M. de Bourqueney, the French Minister, proposed to adjourn for an hour for that purpose, upon which the Turkish Ambassador, who had not yet opened his mouth, jumped up and supported M. de Bourqueney's proposal. Everybody was extremely civil to me at Paris. The Emperor as friendly as ever. Madame Walewska called on Lady Malmesbury, and said she should not have a moment's peace till the Emperor left England, as she fears some attempt on his life from the 'Rouges;' but she told her that the Government had sent word to the principal leaders that, in the event of any attempt being made, they would all be expelled from England. This has frightened them so much that Ledru Rollin and others have left London for Edinburgh, to be out of the way.

[1] Drouyn de l'Huys was recalled by the Emperor, who was dissatisfied with the result of his mission to Vienna.

When at Paris, I dined with Persigny, and had a long conversation with him to the following effect:—

He said: 'The Emperor consults no one; that he is incapable of seeing different sides of a question; that his judgment is good when he does hear them. The war began without any plan; everything done by himself. His Cabinet was astonished at his first announcement of an army going to Gallipoli.'

Persigny pressed a *coup de main*, but the Emperor went to Varna and Adrianople instead.

'The Emperor is surrounded by flatterers. Fould, &c., rogues, and robbers. Present negotiations ill-conducted. Second point (Danube) should have been discussed the last, to keep Austria favourable. Persigny strongly for peace, and says France is all for it. Proposes we should return to first objects, the safety of the Provinces and Turkey, and fortify Constantinople. He says that, according to his suggestion, Kamiesh is to be fortified and a garrison left there; the army withdrawn either to Eupatoria or Constantinople. Orders have been sent for this. He says that if the Emperor is to go to the Crimea, there must be peace at any price to prevent it. If not, the war might go on, but if the French army is lost, then there will be a revolution.'

'Canrobert a very undecided man.'

'Refused to act on December 2, but obeyed orders. Could not make up his mind which party to join.'

Persigny said that they should threaten Austria and Prussia on the west, to push them on in a crusade against Russia. Raise Poland and Hungary; nothing but a crusade could stop the destiny of Russia. If we cannot have one, we must patch it up as he proposes for the present.

'The Empress objects to vulgar people, and prevents access to the Emperor.'

At the Council last year, announced attack on the Baltic. Persigny asked if he meant Cronstadt. 'No, of course not; it would require 100,000 men, cavalry included.' 'But Cronstadt is an island.' 'No, it is not,' &c., and the Emperor went for a map. Everything done with same ignorance and carelessness. The Emperor does not work two hours a day, and yet will order everything. Occupied with such things as his journey to England and his Exhibition.

This conversation is characteristic of the reckless way in which Persigny formed his opinions, and the blunt honesty with which he expresses them.

Madame Walewska especially dreads the Emperor's visits to the City, the Crystal Palace, and the Opera. The Emperor and Empress arrive at Windsor next Monday.

Lord Malmesbury to Lord Derby.

London: April 14, 1855.

My dear Derby,—I returned yesterday from Paris, where I saw the *three*[1] persons most interested and most actively employed in the events of the day. I had long conversations with them; their information was spontaneous; and as I heard them separately and they did not differ, I believe it to be correct and worth relating.

First, then, for *Vienna*.

The Allies signed a note last year pledging themselves to the permanent dismantling of Sebastopol.

The campaign has not been such as to justify this demand.

Other alternatives, with the same objects, were to be found.

Lord John Russell was sent to Vienna to discover what these might be.

On the 12th inst. he wrote to Her Majesty's Government, stating that the Allies must make great modifications in their demands if they desired to meet the 'prejudices of *Austria*' ('preconcerted

[1] The Emperor, Persigny, and Fould.

opinions'). *Russia* positively refused to pledge herself even to limit the number of her ships in the Euxine, stating that Turkey might build ships and fortresses on her coast *ad libitum*, both claiming the right of independent nations. She admitted the general Protectorate of the Five Powers and the freedom of the Danube. She denied that we had gained any advantages for the redemption of which she should make any sacrifice of power or dignity.

Austria so far supported this statement that she advised the Allies to make a peace, provided Russia would agree to limit her fleet to its present number, Turkey doing the same in the Black Sea; Turkey to fortify Constantinople or other places, Russia to admit Consuls at Sebastopol and elsewhere.

Lord John heard all this without at once replying that to allow Turkey to fortify her own coast was no favour, seeing she had a natural right to do so, and that, although we had failed to take Sebastopol, the Black Sea was *de facto* absolutely in the power of the Allies so long as they chose to keep it, and that this was practically the total annihilation of Russian supremacy in that Sea. We had, therefore, a material advantage, which must be paid for.

The Allied Governments were much dissatisfied with Lord John's silence, and Drouyn de l'Huys was sent to England to settle an ultimatum. All this time the French Ministers, alarmed at the failures of the siege, were completely panic-struck by the idea of the Emperor's journey to the Crimea. They openly stated, and now state, that the great Russian Question is a trifle to this catastrophe, and that *anything* is preferable to it. To prevent it any peace must be made. When Drouyn came over, Palmerston remained firm, and was, I have no doubt, supported by the Emperor.

What the exact ultimatum is, I do not know, but it is certainly one which Russia will not accept, and which Austria will not *openly* support.

I believe another campaign is inevitable. The Emperor's argument is that, even should it be unsuccessful, we can retire upon a plan of warfare which would have been, perhaps, the best at first—namely, to withdraw our armies, have an allied force of 20,000 or 30,000 men at Constantinople, and close the Baltic and the Euxine hermetically with our fleets. The cost would be comparatively small, the pressure, physical and moral, upon Russia immense, and we could hold on at this for any time.

I told the Emperor that while we were negotiating at Vienna our Admirals ought to be shelling Odessa; but he said the war must be carried on according to the 'civilised ideas of 1855.' I observed that if that system was to be followed, at least we ought to resort most implacably to real and universal blockade, for we had now followed neither principle. He means to urge the establishment of a Council of War at Paris, without which no *ensemble* can be obtained in any plans which the Allies are to carry out. Hence, he said, our misfortunes.

Now as to the *theatre of war* in the East. The impression is that Sebastopol is stronger than ever on the south side, and that our bombardment will be like the first; but we *must fire off* the *material* we have brought up, as it cannot be left there or carried off. Canrobert has been ready to begin for some time, but Raglan refuses, and will *give no reason*, at which both Governments are much incensed. They suppose that he wishes to avoid a great slaughter until he sees that the Vienna negotiations are fruitless.

Preparations are made to withdraw the army and re-embark it, so as to throw it upon another point, either of Asia or Europe, if desirable. To effect this it has been found feasible to so entrench Kamiesh as to render it impregnable. Through it the armies may defile to the ships and re-embark safely, and leave 10,000 men to hold it as a key to Sebastopol. This may or may not be done under the thunder of the general bombardment.

The Emperor told me he should certainly go out to see with his own eyes. He will have 45,000 men and the Sardinians there in May.

The Sebastopol armies are now 20,000 effective English and 70,000 French. The latter have lost 50,000 since the war.

The Emperor stays till this day week, and is very anxious that he may be seen as much as possible in public. He is very angry at Walewski's fright about attempts on his person.

Your reply to his paper and Ellenborough's plan have never reached him, and he begged me to obtain a duplicate for him. Will you ask Ellenborough to draw up another? As I don't know what you sent, and how it went, I cannot act.

Pray keep this letter confidentially to yourself, *Stanley excepted.*

Yours, &c.

MALMESBURY.

April 16th.—Lady Ossulston, Lady Manners, my wife and I, went to Lord Carrington's house in Whitehall to see the Emperor of the French pass. The weather was beautiful and bright, the streets were choked with people. The *cortège* made its appearance at 6.15 P.M.; there were six open carriages, four of them escorted by a squadron of Life Guards, and a good many outriders in scarlet liveries. They passed very slowly at a walk, and were enthusiastically cheered the whole way from the South-Eastern to the Great Western terminus. They went along Parliament Street, Pall Mall, St. James's Street, Piccadilly, into Hyde Park, round by the Serpentine and out by the Bayswater Gate, thousands of people lining the road for the whole distance. On going up St. James's Street, the Emperor was seen to point out to the Empress the house where he formerly lived in King Street. This was at once understood by the crowd, who cheered louder than ever. On passing the Horse Guards, which were exactly opposite our window, the Emperor stood up in his carriage and saluted the colours, and was of course immensely cheered. His reception was certainly a triumphant one.

April 17th.—The Emperor's passage across the Channel yesterday, though very smooth, was not a safe one, owing to the dense fog, and they were near running on shore on the South Foreland. Captain Smithett fortunately piloted the 'Pelican,' which conveyed them, and got her safe alongside the new pier; but the French man-of-war, the 'Austerlitz,' went ashore three miles east of Dover.

It is reported that Russia refuses our propositions.

April 18th.— We are invited to Windsor, and, after dining

at my brother's, started for the Castle at nine. The special train with the London party had not yet arrived. We all waited in the Waterloo Chamber, which was prepared for music. The Queen, Emperor, and Empress, with the royal family, their suites, and those invited to the banquet, entered soon after ten, and seated themselves without speaking to anyone. As soon as the music was over, the company passed before the Queen and Emperor. Lady Malmesbury was afterwards presented by Madame Walewska to the Empress, who spoke to her very kindly. The fatigue of the journey, and all she had gone through since, made her look very delicate, and yesterday she was unable to appear at dinner in St. George's Hall.

We left at twelve; found the special train ready at the station, and reached home at half-past one. The Queen had arranged everything herself—made out the lists of invitations for both parties at Windsor and the concert for to-morrow at Buckingham Palace. Very few, except Cabinet Ministers, are asked twice. Even Lady Breadalbane, who is one of the Court, was invited only for the evening party last night, and had to sleep at a pastrycook's, there being no room at the Castle.

April 19th.—We went at five o'clock to the French Embassy, where Lady Malmesbury was presented to the Emperor; the whole Corps Diplomatique were there, and in the state of fuss they always exhibit whenever any function is going on, each one being apparently afraid of his precedence being usurped. The Emperor and Empress received us very cordially. Both looked tired with their day's work, having come in the morning from Windsor, gone to the

Mansion House, then to this reception; and to-night a great dinner at the Palace, and the Opera to go through.

April 21*st*.—We gave a dinner to Lady Ailesbury, Lady Glengall, Lord and Lady Lyndhurst, the Ossulstons, Lord Bath, Lord Somerton, Lord A. FitzClarence, and Colonel Macdonald. I suppose they were amused, as they stayed till twelve o'clock. Lord Adolphus told me that the leave-taking this morning, when the Emperor and Empress left, was most touching. Everybody cried, even the *suite*. The Queen's children began, as the Empress had been very kind to them and they were sorry to lose her, and this set off the Empress and maids of honour.

April 24*th*.—The Conferences at Vienna are broken off, and Lord John Russell and M. Drouyn de l'Huys have left on their return home. It is surprising that the Russians should have refused the last proposition, which was to exclude all ships of war from the Black Sea; as they might have built any number of ships and collected a force there without anyone knowing it.

April 25*th*.—Lord Palmerston announced last night that Lord John had left Vienna, and that M. Drouyn de l'Huys remained there only for another day. I spoke in the House of Lords, disapproving the terms offered to Russia, and saying that I could not believe the first alternative offered, that the 'Russian naval force in the Black Sea should henceforth be limited by treaty,' had proceeded from Lord Clarendon or Palmerston, but that I imagined it to be an Austrian proposition. Lord Clarendon did not deny this in his reply, or attempt in any way to vindicate the proposals,

but declined a discussion, as the only information the Government possessed had come by telegraph; but he added that negotiations were adjourned *sine die*, which sounds like a complete failure.

April 27th.—Lord Derby returned to-day from Newmarket, so full of his racing that he could think and talk of nothing else, and knew nothing of the last week's events; and when I alluded to our propositions at the Vienna Conference having been rejected by Russia, asked, 'What propositions?'—evidently not having looked at a newspaper for the whole week. Such is the character of this remarkable man, who has the habit and power of concentrating his whole mind upon the subject which occupies him at the moment, and dismissing it totally, with equal facility. He is very fond of using the expression, 'One thing at a time.'

April 29th.—The Emperor Louis Napoleon has been shot at whilst riding in the Champs Elysées. The assassin approached quite close to him, but missed, and was immediately arrested.

May 1st.—I never recollect such a bitter 1st of May; even the sweeps could not stand it.

May 6th.—Lord Seymour, who is on the Sebastopol Committee, says it will last another fortnight. They are to examine Lord Hardinge and Mr. Sidney Herbert, and the Duke of Newcastle is going to the Crimea. I should have thought it the last place he would have chosen for a tour of pleasure, considering the obloquy with which his name is mentioned there. I went this morning to Lord Derby's to

meet Lord Ellenborough, and we settled to make an attack upon the Government to-morrow week, in the form of an Address to the Queen, praying Her Majesty to dismiss her Ministers in consequence of our want of confidence in their policy.

I did not myself approve of it, for I think Lord Derby ought either to have taken the Government last February, or, having refused to do so, he ought not to try to turn out the present one, which, under great difficulties, has not held office long enough to justify a judgment being passed upon their conduct of the war.

May 8th.—Count Walewski is made Minister for Foreign Affairs, and M. de Persigny comes to England as Ambassador.

May 11th.—It has been decided to give Madame Walewska a bracelet, and the four following ladies are to choose it: Shelburne, Mandeville, Sydney, and Malmesbury. Norman Macdonald is to manage the whole thing. He was rather offended at my saying that he was to be 'foreman of a jury of matrons.'

May 12th.—Lord Palmerston has tried to parry Lord Ellenborough's motion in the House of Lords by promising reforms in the Ordnance, Commissariat, and Medical departments of the army. A sham attack on the Government by Major Reed was made, to enable him to do so; but Disraeli's clever reply showed them both up. At the same time, I think that the result of his speech will be to induce all connected with the army to vote against Lord Ellenborough, as they will be pleased at Lord Palmerston's statement, that

for the patronage of the army to be dispensed by a member of the Government of the day would be an arrangement open to serious objections.

A subscription to Madame Walewska's bracelet has raised a sum of 130*l.*, which is sufficient to get a tolerably handsome one; and the committee meets to-morrow at Lansdowne House to choose one from Emanuel's.

I went to the House of Lords. The Peeresses' Gallery was quite full. Before the debate began every seat was taken by ladies. Lord Ellenborough's speech was below the expectation, and fell flat. Lord Panmure spoke well, but did not answer a single point of Lord Ellenborough's speech. Lord Granville's contained little worthy of notice, except the assertion that the Howards had such wonderful faculties of increase that they were as numerous as the Smiths. Lord Elgin's was remarkable for its spitefulness, and Lord Winchilsea's for its injudiciousness. Lord Derby's was excellent. But throughout the whole debate it struck me that we had no case, and that the attack was not on the present Government, but on the last. We were beaten by a majority of 110. The Government had 115 present and 66 proxies; we 71 present and no proxies, our men not having understood that the Government meant to call them. The number of ladies who attended the debate created great displeasure among the Peers. Lord Ellenborough said it had made him nervous; and Lord Lyndhurst positively refused to speak, saying that the House looked like a casino and not like a place where business is transacted. Lord Redesdale was also very angry, as the ladies overflowed from the gallery into the House; this invasion will, I fear, lead to more stringent and less agreeable arrangements in future. We went to Madame Walewska's farewell party.

May 18th.—We went to see the presentation of the medals to the officers and men who have served in the Crimea and are invalided or wounded. Lord Panmure sent us tickets for the Ministers' stand. The weather was beautiful. It was really a most glorious and touching sight. The Queen arrived exactly at eleven, and took her place on a platform raised three steps, in the centre of the Parade; and the officers and soldiers, headed by the Duke of Cambridge, Lords Lucan and Cardigan, passed in single file, each receiving a medal from her own hands as he went by. I never saw finer-looking men, which was the more remarkable as they were not picked men. Many had lost an arm, and some were still lame from their wounds. I now understand how seven or eight thousand of these men could resist the whole Russian army at Inkerman. Sir Thomas Troubridge was drawn past the Queen in a Bath-chair, having lost both his feet; and I hear that she appointed him her aide-de-camp herself, as she gave him the medal.

After the ceremony, Lady Seymour, whom I met, told me that Mrs. Norton, talking about it to Lord Panmure, asked 'Was the Queen touched?' 'Bless my soul, no!' was the reply. 'She had a brass railing before her, and no one could touch her.' Mrs. Norton then said, 'I mean, was she moved?' 'Moved!' answered Lord Panmure, 'she had no occasion to move!' Mrs. Norton then gave it up in despair.

May 26th.—The Emperor Napoleon has superseded General Canrobert, and appointed General Pélissier as Commander-in-Chief. He has begun well by storming the entrenched Russian camp near the Quarantine Bastion.

May 27th.—Went to Heron Court, Parliament having adjourned to June 4.

May 29th, Heron Court.—Kertch was taken on May 24, by General Sir George Brown. The Russians destroyed three steamers, thirty transports, and 620,000 sacks of grain. We took thirty transports with their cargoes, and the whole loss of the Russians is calculated at a million sacks of corn, which is almost irreparable to them, as we possess the undisputed command of the Sea of Azof and of the mouths of the Don, down which the greatest part of the produce of the interior is carried.

June 6th.—Lords Clarendon and Palmerston have announced that the Conferences of Vienna are closed.

June 8th.—I went to the annual Eton dinner, being chairman.

June 9th.—Sir Francis Baring's motion, assuring the Queen of the support of Parliament during the war, was carried unanimously. In the debate, Lord Palmerston did not spare Gladstone, Sidney Herbert, and Sir James Graham, and said that when in the Cabinet they had approved of the very conditions of peace which they now denounced—namely, the 'limitation of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea.' To this they made no answer.

June 12th.—The London bank of Paul and Co. has failed, and many people in society have lost large sums.

June 13th.—Our losses in the attack upon the Gravel Pits

at Sebastopol, June 7, are very severe—eleven officers killed and forty wounded, 730 men killed and wounded.

June 15th.—We dined with the Elys. Young Lady Ely was sent for unexpectedly by the Queen, so the Dowager did the honours. The party consisted of the Derbys, Clarendons, Londesboroughs, Lyndhursts, Persigny, and Colonel Forester. Lord Clarendon and Lord Derby chaffed each other all through dinner, which made it very lively for everybody except poor Persigny, who does not understand English.

June 16th.—A most atrocious act has been committed by the Russians at Hango, in the Baltic. A boat from her Majesty's ship 'Cossack,' with three officers and twelve men, landed under a flag of truce with some Russian prisoners. The Russians fired upon them, killing all except one man, their own countrymen included. This is of a piece with their shooting their wounded enemies, which many did at Inkerman.

June 19th.—Mr. Layard's motion on administrative reform was rejected last night by a majority of 313. Lord Palmerston adopted Sir Edward Lytton's amendment, by which he probably saved the Government from defeat. Sir Charles Wood gave an account in the House of Commons of the massacre of the 'Cossack's' boat's crew by the Russians. Two officers and fourteen men landed at Hango with seven Finnish prisoners; the flag of truce was hoisted and must have been visible long before the boat reached shore, but the Russians allowed her to approach without any warning, and the officers landed with the flag and the prisoners. The

Russians, who were concealed behind rocks, suddenly came out, to the number of three or four hundred, and surrounded our men. The officer who commanded them spoke in English, and, in reply to Lieutenant Geneste, said he did not care for the flag of truce, and immediately gave orders for his men to fire, which they did, killing with the first volley our two officers and the seven prisoners. They then fired into the boat, killing everybody except two men, one of whom shammed dead and by that means escaped to tell the tale. The other, who was slightly wounded, they dragged out and bayonetted on the pier. The commander of the 'Cossack,' finding the cutter did not return, sent the gig in search of her, and found her moored close to the jetty with some dead bodies in her, and some people on shore making signs to them to land. Had they done so they would have shared the same fate as their comrades.

June 20th.—The report of the Sebastopol Committee was brought up and read in the House of Commons. It is in some respects very fair, though evidently making the best of the case for the late Government. Severe censure is passed upon Lord Raglan for continuing Mr. Ward in his office of purveyor for the hospitals at Scutari after he had been pronounced unfit for his post. This is very unfair, when many others in responsible situations have been left in the exercise of their duties without any such censure being passed upon those who ought to have dismissed them and did not do so.

June 22nd.—Very bad news from the Crimea. The French and English attacked the Malakoff Tower and the Redan on the 18th, and were repulsed with great loss. No

particulars are yet known. The Russian account of the Hango massacre confirms ours in some degree, saying that the officers are alive, though wounded and prisoners.

June 25th.—A list is published of the officers killed on June 18, or who died of their wounds. It amounts to nineteen names. The principal officers killed are—General Sir John Campbell; Colonel Yea, 7th Regiment; Colonel Shadforth, 57th. Among the captains is Lord Somerton's brother, Captain Agar. It appears that Strahan and Paul's bank has been insolvent for the last six years, that they have been trading upon the capital of their customers, and kept up appearances so well that no suspicion was entertained of the state of their affairs, and when the crash came it took everybody by surprise and has ruined hundreds. I hear that Mrs. Gore has lost 20,000*l.*, but I hope the rumour is untrue, for she is a very generous woman.

June 26th.—It was almost decided at a meeting last Saturday at Disraeli's to support Mr. Roebuck's motion censuring the late Government. Disraeli, of course, takes this view; and Sir John Pakington, though not for it himself, says that the great majority of the party are so. It was decided to consult Lord Derby.

June 29th.—Sickness in the army is increasing. Generals Pennefather, Codrington, and Brown are all ill; and Lord Raglan himself has been attacked by cholera.

June 30th.—The evening papers announce the sad news of the death of Lord Raglan, which took place on the 28th; the failure of the attack on the Malakoff had such an effect

upon him that it increased his malady, and certainly contributed to its fatal issue. He was unconscious for the last four hours. I knew him well, and cannot recollect a finer character. He was the Duke's right-hand man through the Peninsular war, and was greatly esteemed by him. Handsome and high-bred in person, and charming in society, he was one of the most popular of its members. He was remarkable for his coolness under fire, and St. Arnaud, in his famous despatch after the battle of the Alma, says of him: 'Il avait toujours ce même calme qui ne le quitte jamais.' I never saw anything like the grief and consternation amongst military men.

July 1st.—General Simpson is appointed in Lord Raglan's place. He served in the Peninsula and in India; but he inspires no confidence, as he is old and broken.

July 7th, Heron Court.—Lord John Russell made a curious statement in the House of Commons, saying plainly that his opinions were quite at variance with those of the rest of the Cabinet respecting the war, and yet he keeps his place. He seems to be conducting himself in the same manner he did last Christmas; for now that he has returned from Vienna, and found the Government would not support his views, he evidently gave way, as he said nothing in Parliament to induce anyone to believe that his opinions respecting the war were not in accordance with theirs, and apparently acted in perfect harmony with his colleagues. At that time our prospects in the Crimea were favourable, and the Government and the war popular. Now, we have had a reverse; the Government is in some degree shaken by it, and he chooses this moment to make an explanation respecting the

Vienna Conference, and the part he took in favour of peace —a statement which must damage the Government in public opinion, by showing that upon such an important question as peace or war the Cabinet is not united. His object is of course perfectly clear—namely, to turn them out and come in himself as a peace Minister. All parties are abusing him at the clubs for his speech, the object of which is evident to everybody.

July 12th.—Lord Derby, before he left London, settled with Disraeli, without any communication with the rest of his party, to turn out the Government. Many of them would have disapproved of it under present circumstances. Sir Edward Lytton's motion is to be against Lord John Russell, and is fixed for next Monday.

After the way in which he has shown himself up, declaring first for war, then for peace, then again for war, our party is forced to bring forward a motion of censure on him and want of confidence in him, or else they must abdicate their position. If the Government chooses to sacrifice Lord John, they may retain office, but if they take the high line and support him, and Sir Edward Lytton carries his motion, they must of course resign; and then there is no one left but Lord Derby for Prime Minister. There is, however, little doubt that Lord Palmerston has secured the Irish Brigade by promising to vote for the fourteenth clause of the Tenants' Rights Bill (which was rejected by the House of Commons) if anyone proposes its reinsertion. A deputation waited upon him to ask him to do so. Mr. Malins introduced the subject on Friday in the House. Lord Palmerston could not deny the fact of a deputation having waited upon him, and of his having promised them his vote,

but he of course denied having received any promise from them in return, and refused even to mention their names. The feeling of the House was strongly against his explanation. Lord Hardinge told me that Lord Panmure, soon after he took office as War Minister, wrote the most rude and abusive letter to Lord Raglan. He showed a copy of it to the Cabinet and to Lord Hardinge, who told him he had never seen such a letter written to an officer of Lord Raglan's rank; indeed, that it was quite unfit to be sent to any officer in Her Majesty's service. Lord Panmure wanted him to keep a copy at the Horse Guards, but Lord Hardinge refused, and added, that he would not even have it said that he had ever put such a letter in his pocket. Lord Raglan never sent any reply. The Duke of Newcastle had also written him a very sharp reprimand; and when the Duke left office and was preparing to go to the Crimea, he wrote Lord Raglan an apology, saying he hoped he would forgive the letter which he had previously written, as it had not been dictated by any hostile feeling, but entirely from a sense of the duties of his position. Lord Raglan returned no answer, but it is well known that he felt deeply the way in which he was treated by the Government and the Press, and nothing but the highest possible sense of duty could have induced him to submit to all these insults and injuries, remain in command of the army, share their sufferings, and finally die at his post without a word of complaint or a murmur ever having escaped his lips.

July 14th.—Lord John Russell sent his resignation to the Queen yesterday, several members of the Government (though not in the Cabinet) having announced that they could not vote against Sir Edward Lytton's motion. Lord

Palmerston probably got them to make this declaration to force Lord John to resign, and also to show how determined the Government is on the war question.

July 17*th.*—Sir E. Lytton, after making a long and clever speech, withdrew his motion in consequence of Lord John's resignation. Lord Palmerston was weaker than usual. Disraeli spoke well, and cut him up unmercifully, but in a gentlemanlike manner. Roebuck made a violent speech against the Government, but, of course, as the motion was withdrawn, all this is mere talk without any result for the present. It will probably have one in the future and upset the Government, unless they have the good fortune to obtain some great military success. This debate has shown the country that some members of the Government were ready to accept the Austrian proposition for peace, brought back from Vienna by Lord John Russell, had not the French Emperor objected. And this opposition of Louis Napoleon's is the 'unforeseen circumstance' so often alluded to in the course of the debate. Disraeli taxed them openly with the intention of making peace, and asserted that their not doing so was in consequence of the Emperor's disagreement, which was clearly proved by his recall of his Ambassador, M. Drouyn de l'Huys, from Vienna. Neither Lord Palmerston nor any of his colleagues said one word in contradiction of this statement.

July 20*th.*—Mr. Roebuck's motion of censure has been negatived by 289 to 182.

July 22*nd.*—Government have only carried the Turkish loan by a majority of three, and six Derbyites voted with

them. It appears to me a great mistake to entrust five millions to the disposal of a Pasha for the payment of the Turkish troops, as it is pretty certain that the soldiers will see little of it.

August 9th.—Left London, *viâ* Glasgow, for Achnacarry. From Glasgow we took the 'Iona' steamer, the largest I have yet seen on this line, to Corpac. It was such a dark night that the servant was obliged to hold up the lantern the whole way before the horses. Just after we had passed Gierlochy, we were stopped by my keeper, who made us all get out, as a bridge had fallen in; without him we should infallibly have gone over into a very deep burn. My servants, too, had a very dangerous journey by sea, their steamer having run aground between Aberdeen and Inverness; they saved their lives, but lost all their luggage and some of ours.

August 21st, Achnacarry.—News has arrived of a battle having been fought on the 16th, on the Tchernaya, between the Russians and the French and Sardinians, which ended in the total defeat of the former. The party here consists of Lord Hardwicke and his daughters, Mr. Barrington,[1] Lord Ranelagh, and Colonel Knox.

Lady Mary Yorke is in the height of her beauty.

September 14th.—News has arrived, with a list of the officers killed and wounded in the assault on Sebastopol on September 8, amounting to near 150, but without any particulars.

September 17th.—We had an extraordinary day's sport at Achnacarry, by driving Gerraran Wood, killing six stags.

[1] Now Viscount Barrington.

Mr. Barrington shot three, I two, and Colonel Knox one. Two of them took to the loch, and were chased by the boat. A most exciting day's sport, which the ladies witnessed.

September 24th.—General Simpson's despatch of the 9th is published, and though he evidently does his best to soften the truth, there is no concealing the fact that our troops made a signal failure in storming the Redan on the 8th. It is evident that our bombardment was very weak, whilst that of the French was tremendous. Our arrangements were defective, and great confusion prevailed. Pélissier's and Niel's despatches do full justice to the bravery of our troops, who kept the Redan for nearly two hours, and were only forced to retreat from its being quite open at the back, which enabled the Russians to bring large bodies of men up in succession. A long list of our killed and wounded, which exceeds that of Inkerman, shows that they behaved most gallantly. The French themselves admit that our task was the most difficult one, as we had 200 yards of open ground to cross before we could reach the Redan. The Malakoff, which Pélissier took, was within twenty yards of the assaulting party, composed of 10,000 men with 8,000 in reserve, whilst ours were less than half that number.

October 17th.—The Russians have had a severe defeat at Kars. They attempted to storm the town, but were repulsed, with the loss of 4,000 men, by General Williams and the Hungarian Klapka and Captain Teesdale.

Lord Malmesbury to Lord Stanley.

Achnacarry: October 21, 1855.

My dear Stanley,—As the question of making peace or going on with the war is agitating the public mind, I venture to give you mine on the subject.

Having all my life been told and felt that Russia intended to conquer Turkey and the Baltic kingdoms some day or other, I was not surprised at Menschikoff's mission and the subsequent invasion of Turkey on a frivolous pretext. Having the help of France, I thought the time come when we could successfully save Turkey from this invasion, and perhaps prevent Russia from attempting, for many years to come, these attacks, which she has made periodically, and invariably to her benefit, four or five times during this century. We have of course succeeded in my *first* object, but not yet in my second. This latter security cannot, I think, be really obtained, unless you divest Russia of the Crimea and Bessarabia, and make the Black Sea a peaceful lake like our North American ones. I don't think the Sardinian idea 'absurd.' Whoever has the Crimea must be assisted in holding it by a guarantee of the other Powers, just as Belgium is now protected from France and Holland; and there is this advantage, that the Sardinians would more than any people civilise and make the Crimea a commercial land. They would excite less hatred in Russia than the Turks, and less jealousy among us than Austria, which, by the way, I consider out of the question. The Genoese once held a good part of the Crimea. The objection I see to this is that the Straits might be closed to Sardinia by the Turk himself. On the whole, therefore, it might be better to give it to the Sultan under guarantee, and when he had this Tartar province proclaim the independence of the Principalities. It is, however, rather absurd disposing of the Crimea, which we have not yet conquered; and it is for this reason that I cannot think of a peace at this moment. With half Sebastopol in our hands, but which we dare neither leave nor live in, with a large army in our front undefeated, I do not understand how a country like England (leave alone France) could be the *first* to propose a peace to Russia.

I give you my worthless opinion as if I were the independent Minister of an absolute sovereign, untrammelled by Parliaments or parties; and this makes a great difference, because in England there is always a party ready to get into office upon the inevitable unpopularity which war, however just and right, must bring at last. This unavoidable weariness will come some day. I doubt, however, if it be arrived yet. Doubtless, Disraeli and Walpole, both men averse by their physical bias to aught like war, are against proceeding with this one. Then you have pseudo-Russians, like Granby and Claud Hamilton—but I can't see any *reaction*. The

Conservative party in the country are for it, and all the press, except 'The Press.' But 'The Press' only carps and asks questions, and proposes no solution. Nor do I think you can have one such as I have described, ensuring us from Russo-Turkish expeditions, until you have taken from her the Crimea and Bessarabia.

Depend upon it Napoleon had projects about Poland, but I think they have faded away. What I fear is that, the war over, he cannot withdraw his armies without having something material to show his countrymen. Whether he might take Candia or Cyprus, as a reward for having restored the Crimea to the Turk and set him on his legs, I don't know, but I can't see who would or could prevent him. Perhaps it would not much signify to us, as we hold our own at sea. When the time arrives at which we may reasonably think that Russia's lower limbs are completely crippled, it may require a great deal of courage to persuade Napoleon that enough has been done; but my belief is that he would not like to reduce Russia too low.

If we had had a really wise Minister at the beginning of the war, he would have gladly taken advantage of Napoleon's wish to take all the *land* work himself and give us all the *water* work. We should then have strengthened our fleets, and employed thousands of sailors, who must always be our military counterpoise to the system of Continental Conscript hosts. Russia's navy would have been half destroyed as now, and France's not so materially increased and improved; and whilst we were following an effective policy against Russian aggression, we should have been establishing for future days our maritime supremacy over *every one*. As it is, we have shown the world that what Napier says is true—'We are a warlike, but not a military people.'

I do not think the time come for peace, or that we could obtain a solid one.

I do not think that this country *believes* that the time has arrived. I am convinced that our party would make a most false and unpopular move if, in a November Parliament, they followed Gladstone's line. Yours, &c.

MALMESBURY.

October 24th.—Left Achnacarry for Chillingham.

November 10th.—The Duke of Newcastle has been tele-

graphed for from the Crimea, to offer him the Colonial Department, Lord Stanley having refused it. This has placed the Government in difficulties, as they did not expect it.

November 13th.—I went to Paris with George Harris. I find the French are getting heartily sick of the war; their finances are in a very bad state. Madame Walewska is *enceinte.*

November 23rd, Paris.—I dined at the Tuileries. The Emperor was very friendly, and talked to me full an hour; the Empress looking very handsome, and all appearances concealed by the large dresses now worn.

November 29th.—The King of Sardinia, who is here, is as vulgar and coarse as possible. He said to the Empress: 'On me dit que les danseuses françaises ne portent pas de caleçons. Si c'est comme cela, ce sera pour moi le paradis terrestre.'

Mr. Disraeli to Lord M.

Hughenden: November 30, 1855.

My dear M.,—It is very provoking to have missed you, and only by an hour!

It seems to me that a party that has shrunk from the responsibility of conducting a war would never be able to carry on an opposition against a Minister for having concluded an unsatisfactory peace, however bad the terms.

We are off the rail of politics, and must continue so as long as the war lasts; and the only thing that can ever give us a chance is that the war should finish, and on the terms which may be now practicable. Then we shall, at least, revert to the position we occupied before the fatal refusal to take the reins last February, which lost us the heart and respect of all classes.

As a general rule, silence and inactivity should be our tactics; but anything which indicates a desire to conclude the war on

honourable terms in this country assists the Emperor and distracts and enfeebles Palmerston, who cares for nothing but his immediate career.

I should like very much to know, *whether the opinion you have formed as to the probable result of the negotiations is shared by Walewski and Co.* Send me a line if you can. Yours ever,

D.

December 5th.—I returned to London. I was presented to the King of Sardinia by Prince Albert, who told him that I was an 'ancien Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.' 'A quelle époque?' answered the King. I said, 'In 1852, under Lord Derby's Government.'

The King replied: 'Que faites-vous à présent?' To which the Prince said: 'Il fait de l'Opposition, car il faut toujours faire quelque chose dans ce pays.' 'Ah,' replied the King, 'donc, vous êtes opposé à mon voyage en Angleterre, et à mon alliance?' To Lord Clarendon, whom the Prince presented as the present Minister for Foreign Affairs, his Majesty said, 'J'ai entendu parler de vous;' adding, 'C'est fini'—which, in plain English, means 'Be off, I've nothing more to say.'

Mr. Sidney Herbert to Lord M.

Wilton: December 8, 1855.

My dear Fitz,—A thousand thanks for your letter. I have no doubt you are right as to the facts of the case of the French line-of-battle ships passing the Castles; indeed you are sure to be so as having been cognisant of them, which I was not. I alluded to it only as, if true (which you show it is not), being one of the many evidences of the disposition of France to make political capital in the East by establishing French influence, and possibly acquiring rights if not territory. What with the campaigns of Napoleon in Egypt, the capitulations of Francis I., and even old St. Louis and Tunis, the French have a traditional field for ambition in the East.

But they have not the same *interests* in the East that Russia

has, and we have, therefore, far less to apprehend in that quarter from her than from Russia.

Every country situated as Russia is will encroach on its neighbours *if not prevented.* Her relations with Circassia, Georgia, Persia, are the same as ours with Rangoon, Scinde, the Sikhs, and Oude. The stronger and more civilised necessarily absorb the weaker and more barbarous; but Russia, as compared with us, has this to her disadvantage, that one of those provinces, though barbarous and Asiatic in religion and habits, is partly European in geography, and we in Europe won't allow the process of absorption to go on. The public here are right in thinking of Russian aggression, but wrong in attributing it to a wonderful foresight, skill, and design. The Russians are just as great fools as other people; but they encroach as we encroach in India, Africa, and everywhere—because we can't help it. We, however, have an interest in preventing her, and by a combination of circumstances we have the power. We have rightly and justly availed ourselves of it, and we may flatter ourselves that we have, for a generation at least, put a check upon it; more than that we can't say.

Now, as you say, we must not form our opinions from an incorrect view of facts. So I must correct one opinion of yours—namely, that I hold that a Russian is better for us than a French alliance; and that it arises from my having a natural bias in favour of Russia. Now I have no bias in favour of Russia, but the contrary, arising from the natural bias of my mind in favour of a liberal policy. I don't mean I am in favour of intervention to set up Brummagem constitutions, such as Palmerston and John Russell talk about but are too wise to act upon; but I mean that the Russian system and politics are the opposite of ours, and do by their intervention arrest the progress of good government in Europe. Russia is not in these days a possible ally for us, in the sense in which you use the word when talking of a French alliance.

I, from my Russian connection, have heard and known more of their interior and exterior policy than the generality of people here. I recollect your grandfather's letters well, and I believe the old Duke and Aberdeen were right in 1827–8 (I am not sure of the date), when they would have resisted the march on Adrianople, but Palmerston and the Whigs, who were then still full of Phil-Hellenism, and were intriguing with the Princess Lieven to turn the Duke out, succeeded in preventing any move in that direction. Palmerston, I think, called it Austro-Turco barbarism.

Had I held their views I could not have been a member of Lord Aberdeen's Government, nor advocated in the Cabinet the cementing in every way the French alliance and striking the blow at Russia.

I felt that it must come sooner or later, and that no such opportunity would probably ever again recur.

France is the obvious ally for England, for many reasons. I do not know that I can select a better one from among them than that she is the only country who, if on bad terms, can injure us. There is no other nation we need fear. But there are other and less selfish reasons, which I need not enumerate to you.

My only fear is lest the too long continuance of a state of things bringing us into daily communication, and requiring necessarily great mutual forbearance and much give-and-take, should end in jealousy or coolness. I think it of paramount importance to England, with a view to the future, to end the war before any one of the Allies is tired of it, and before France begins to ask whether she is making sacrifices for her own honour or at our instance. I want to secure all that we have got, and all we have gained, and to lose none of the ulterior advantages if possible.

Now, with this full explanation, I do not think there is much difference between us. I feel some remorse at the length of the letter, but console myself by reflecting that you brought it on your own head. Believe me, &c.

SIDNEY HERBERT.

December 17th.—The news of the fall of Kars is confirmed. General Williams, his staff, nine pashas, and the whole garrison are prisoners of war. They were obliged to surrender from starvation, but not until they had eaten their horses and even the cats and dogs in the town.

January 18th, 1856.—The Russians have accepted the Austrian ultimatum without reservation, which Lord Palmerston announced at Lady E. Hay's wedding.

December 28th.—A triumphal reception was given at Christchurch to Admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, who, it appears, was born there.

1856

From Lord Derby to Lord M. (on the Life Peerages Question).

Knowsley: January 19, 1856.

The Peerage is a very grave constitutional question; and I am not at all surprised to learn from what quarter the *coup* has proceeded. I am engaged in examining the case. In spite of Lord Coke's dictum, the legality is very doubtful; and the exercise of a prerogative which has been dormant for 300 years, and that without the slightest necessity, cannot be passed over without notice. My present idea is that, even *before* the Speech is read, we should give notice of moving for the Letters Patent; that in moving for them we should challenge the Government to justify their excuse, and then be guided by their tone and the feeling of the House as to a subsequent address to the Crown. We must discuss this matter when we meet; and I propose to have a small meeting of members of both Houses at my house at 2 P.M. on the Wednesday, which I hope you will be able to attend.

Ever yours sincerely,

DERBY.

The Earl of Malmesbury.

From Lord St. Leonards to Lord M. (on the Life Peerages Question).

Carlton Club: January 21, 1856.

My dear Lord,—I was unluckily obliged to come to town this wet day.

You might be sure that the Government have a good deal to say upon the question of legality, and Parke himself is no doubt satisfied on that head. But I agree with you, the policy of this step, if legal, is one that must be discussed—in what shape Lord Derby will, I suppose, decide. Probably a committee might be appointed, in the first instance, although we all know pretty well what they are.

I hope to be at Lord Derby's dinner.

Our friends the French will get into a scrape if this finessing should lead to any real difficulty. I always thought that they would look to indemnity [1] in some shape.

Ever yours sincerely,

ST. LEONARDS.

February 12th.—The Government have not given way on the question of the Life Peerage, and Lord Lyndhurst has announced that he will move to-day, 'That the House resolve itself into a Committee of Privilege.'

February 16th.—Lord and Lady Clarendon leave London to-day for the Paris Conference. Brünnow affects the greatest ignorance of the Czar's intentions, saying that Orloff [2] is the only man who knows what they are.

February 19th.—The further consideration of the Wensleydale Life Peerage is put off until the 22nd, to give Lords Lyndhurst, Brougham, and Campbell time for further investigations as to precedents; but the result at present is that Lord Wensleydale has no right to his seat in the House of Lords.

February 23rd.—Yesterday, in the House of Lords, Lord Glenelg moved, 'That the following questions be referred to the Judges:—"Is it in the power of the Crown to create by patent the dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom for life? and what privileges does such a grant confer?"' The House divided. Majority against the motion, 31. The House then resolved itself into a Committee of Privileges, and Lord Lyndhurst moved his resolution embodying the report of the Committee, which denies the validity of the

[1] Savoy. [2] The Russian plenipotentiary at the Conference.

patent of Lord Wensleydale, so far as it gives him the right to sit and vote in Parliament.

February 24th.—The Comtesse de la Force has been murdered in her house in the Champs Elysées by her groom, a German.

February 27th.—Lord Derby dined with the Queen on Saturday, and both Her Majesty and the Prince told him they had no idea the Peerage question would have been taken up as it has been, or they would not have granted it.

March 5th.—The Conference is proceeding at Paris. Louis Napoleon's speech in opening the Legislative Assembly was most cordial towards England, and does not leave the slightest hope to Austria and Russia of their succeeding in sowing dissension between us and France. He only professed himself quite ready to continue the war if the negotiations failed.

March 7th.—Sir William Clay's bill for the abolition of Church rates passed the House of Commons by a majority of 44, Lord Palmerston and the whole Government voting for it.

March 8th.—The Opera House at Covent Garden has been burnt down by the chandelier being over-heated during the monster benefit of the conjurer Anderson, to whom the theatre had been let for two months. This imitation of American vulgarity ended by a masked ball of the lowest kind, tickets being one shilling. Mr. Gye, the manager,

who was at Paris, had refused to allow the masquerade. The loss will not be covered by 300,000*l.*

March 10th.—I got a letter from M. de Persigny, announcing that the Empress of the French was safely confined of a son. The Emperor, who never left the room, was worked up into such a nervous state that for fifteen hours he cried and sobbed without ceasing; and when the child was born he was so overpowered with joy that he rushed into the next room and embraced the five first persons he met. Then recollecting that his behaviour was not dignified, he said, 'Je ne peux pas vous embrasser tous.'

March 29th.—Madame de Persigny called to wish us good-bye, and told us the following riddle: 'Pourquoi l'Empereur est-il changé pour le mieux depuis la naissance de son fils?'—'Parce qu'il a un nouveau-né (nez).'

March 30th.—The signing of the Treaty of Peace with Russia was announced by the firing of cannon from the Tower and the Horse Guards. Numbers collected in the streets, but no enthusiasm was shown.

April 5th.—Dined with the Palmerstons. He says the French call the medal we have given them 'La médaille de sauvetage.' They want another lesson from us.

There is a new play come out in Paris, the principal characters being Adam, Eve, and the serpent. It is quite a new version—the serpent succeeds in making himself agreeable to Eve, and poor Adam is made to look very foolish.

April 10th.—I got a letter from Lord Clarendon, saying

that he could not be present 'for my amiable invitation to Kars' (I had given notice of a motion with respect to the fate of that fortress), but went on to say that he would be back by the end of next week, and that the Treaty would give our party weapons against him, but that he was, on the whole, satisfied, as things looked very bad two months ago; and the difficulties he had had to contend with were very great and would probably never be known, by which I conclude the French threw us over and are now toadying the Russians.

April 11th.—I spoke in the House of Lords on the subject of the sale of the cavalry horses in the Crimea to the Russians, and this morning I got a letter from the Duke of Cambridge, praising my speech and thanking me for it. Also another from General Lord de Ros to the same effect.

April 20th.—Cavour and the Chevalier Massimo d'Azeglio called on me. The former spoke very openly on Italian politics, and I, not being in office, had no reason for not being equally frank.

April 26th.—I saw Lord Derby to-day; he wants to get out of the discussion on the fall of Kars, and is much disgusted with his party for not being willing to support Mr. Whiteside's motion upon it. I can see that many believe Disraeli would like to place himself at the head of the Conservative party, to the exclusion of Lord Derby. These suspicions are strengthened by the tone of his paper, 'The Press,' which avoids ever mentioning the name of Lord Derby, or of anyone except Disraeli himself, whom it praises in the most fulsome manner. I have also myself

been sounded upon the subject of making Disraeli or Lord Stanley our leader, but I do not think that the person to whom I allude will ever do so again.

April 28th.—I went to the House of Commons to hear Mr. Whiteside's speech upon Kars. It was a very fine one, and I think Mr. Whiteside decidedly a greater orator than Disraeli, although his Irish accent, which is very strong, when he gets animated, spoils the effect to English ears. He was immensely cheered. Lord Derby's meeting this morning was not a very full one; Lord Granby was present, and, as usual, made difficulties, as did also Mr. Bentinck, without anything leading to it.

April 30th.—The Treaty of Paris is to be discussed next Monday, and is open to great objections. I shall withdraw my motion upon Kars.

May 1st.—I saw Lord Derby to-day; he wishes me to begin the debate upon the Treaty next Monday. We shall be beaten to-night in the House of Commons by more than a hundred, fifty of our men voting against us or staying away. Lord Derby has certainly lost a great deal of his influence by refusing office last year.

May 2nd. — The Government had a majority of 399 against Mr. Whiteside upon Kars.

May 3rd.—I went with some of my colleagues to Lord Derby this morning, when he and Disraeli decided that I am to begin the debate on Monday in condemnation of the Treaty.

May 5th.—I spoke for an hour against the Treaty of Paris, and received many compliments upon it both from my friends and the cross benches. Lord Clarendon spoke in answer, and Lord Derby followed, winding up with these words: 'So much for the *capitulation* of Paris.'

May 7th.—There was a dinner at the Palace for Baron Brünnow—a dinner of reconciliation, consisting entirely of Ministers and ex-Ministers. Lord John Russell was there, and very civil to me, as, when I arrived, he crossed the room to come and speak to me—a thing he never did before. He began the conversation by saying: 'You gave it them well last night,' and seemed quite delighted at the Government being bullied. He added that the debate in the Lords was very superior to that in the Commons. I had to take Lady Clarendon to dinner. She was at first very cross, but I ended by laughing her out of her bad humour.

May 23rd.—A discussion on the Maritime Law was brought on last night by Lord Colchester. Lords Derby and Carnarvon spoke beautifully, but the Government had a majority of 54.

May 28th.—I went to the Derby with the Persignys.

June 5th.—The American Government have dismissed Mr. Crampton, United States Minister, who is gone to Toronto, which is rather alarming. I dined with the Clarendons.

June 24th.—The Alteration of Oaths Bill was rejected by the Lords by a majority of 32.

June 26th.—We dined with the Hardwickes to meet the celebrated tragic actress Ristori. She arrived very late, just as we were sitting down to dinner, and made an *entrée* quite in the theatrical style—violent exclamations, gesticulations, and grimaces, giving a long history of how her coachman had lost his way, and her feelings on the subject, all in the loudest tone of voice. She calls herself thirty, but looks fifty. I went to Lady Westminster's ball to meet the Queen. Everybody is talking of a scene that occurred yesterday at the Levée. A vulgar American having gone in a frock coat with a yellow waistcoat and a black neckcloth, Sir E. Cust told him he could not pass the Queen in that costume. He insisted, and Mr. Dallas, the American Minister, took his part, and finding, after an angry altercation, that Sir E. Cust would not give way, he left the Palace with all his suite.

June 28th.—We gave a dinner to a large party, among whom were the Clarendons. He told me that he had gone to Lady Westminster's ball in full dress by mistake, and was the only man not in frock-dress. Some one observed in the hearing of Mrs. Dallas, 'Why is Lord Clarendon in full dress?' 'Oh,' answered the person addressed, 'I suppose he has been dining with Mr. Dallas.'

June 30th.—I hear that Mrs. Anson has written home a very bad account of Lady Canning, whose health seems to be seriously affected by the climate of India.

July 8th.—The Queen reviewed the troops at Aldershot, and made them a speech. Lord Hardinge was seized with a fit at Aldershot in her presence. He was talking to her at

the time, and was brought to London very ill.[1] We went to Lord Carrington's house to see the entry of the Guards into London. There were three battalions of above a thousand men each. They marched past in fours, preceded by their colonels on horseback and their bands, in heavy marching order. Certainly they looked as if they had done work; their uniforms were shabby, many having almost lost all colour, their bearskins quite brown, and they themselves, poor fellows, though they seemed happy, and were laughing as they marched along, were very thin and worn.

August 10th.—The Russians are at their old tricks again, and have seized the Isle of Serpents, at the mouth of the Danube, which by some oversight has not been mentioned in the treaty, and, as they possessed it before the war, they naturally concluded it belonged to them, no stipulations to the contrary having been made; but it turns out to be of great importance, as it commands the mouths of the river, and admits of being fortified. This, coupled with their delay in restoring Kars and their blowing up Ismaïl and Reni, is contrary to the spirit of the treaty. The English fleet has received orders to re-enter the Black Sea, and to remain there until the Island of Serpents and Kars are given up.

August 19th.—I travelled from London to Southampton in the same carriage with Lord and Lady Palmerston. Lord Palmerston talked the whole way in the most open manner of foreign affairs. He says nothing can be worse than the way the Russians have behaved in carrying out the treaty. They have tried to evade almost every point, and taken advantage of every loophole and oversight. They

[1] Lord Hardinge died the following September.

have blown up the old castle of Kars, though it never could be of any use, and was merely a curious remnant of antiquity. They are making great difficulties about the settlement of the boundary in Bessarabia, saying that Belgrad, an old village of that name, is not the one they meant, but another village of the same name, quite out of the intended line. Chreptovitch, the new Russian Ambassador, took a high tone, and talked of leaving England if these complaints were pressed, to which Lord Palmerston replied that the sooner he did so the better, if he did not give way upon them.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

Knowsley: August 25, 1856.

My dear Malmesbury,—I found your letter of the 25th on my return from York, whither I had ventured upon going to see my horse run; but my rashness was punished by a slight return of my enemy, which compelled me to return, *re infecta*. I hope, however, that I may now report myself all right again, though my hand and wrist still continue rather weak, and I have not ventured, or indeed been able, to hold a gun. There is plenty of employment for one. We have a good deal of oats cut, but no wheat in this neighbourhood yet. The corn crops look very well, but the extent of disease in the potatoes is fearful. It has not been so bad for years. I hear from Ossalston that you are to be with him at Chillingham towards the middle or end of October; so I suppose we may look forward to seeing you here on your way back, early in November. Palmerston seems to have been in a very communicative mood with you the other day; and his report fully confirms what I had suspected to be the case, not only that Russia is playing us false as far as she dares, but that 'our august ally' is less to be depended upon than might be desirable. It is quite evident to me that there is a great desire on both sides for a *rapprochement* between the two Emperors, at our expense. Morny is evidently playing first fiddle at St. Petersburg, and Granville's position will not be made the more agreeable by the coldness of Chreptovitch's reception here. Peace *may* be maintained, but even of this I do not feel confident; but of this I am very sure, that it will not be long

before our Government will have cause to be heartily ashamed of the terms and results of the peace they have 'patched up.' The election of Fremont I should look upon as satisfactory, and as affording the best prospect of a solution of our difficulties in *that* quarter. What is Palmerston doing with all the Church patronage which is pouring in upon him?

Ever yours sincerely,
DERBY.

September 6th.—Civil war has broken out in the United States between the Abolitionists and the Pro-Slavery Party, and a great deal of blood has been already shed. The Government refused to take part with either side, upon which the Slave party in Congress would not vote the supplies for the army, which accordingly must be disbanded.

September 17th.—Left Heron Court for Paris, where I expect to meet George Harris. I hear that Lady Stafford and Lady Emily Peel are much admired at Petersburg, where they are gone for the coronation of the Emperor, and that M. de Morny's *fêtes* are quite surpassed by those of Lord Granville; but the person who has had the most success is Lord Stafford's piper, who, whenever he shows himself in the streets, is followed by crowds, who fancy he is the Ambassador.

October 15th.—I left Venice after a pleasant visit with George Harris. Made acquaintance with Countess Persico, who has a palazzo at Castelfranco, near Treviso, and received much hospitality from her.

October 20th.—Arrived at Turin. Dined with our Minister, Sir James Hudson. He says the French do not go with us on the Bolgrad question. There is to be a Congress at

Paris to decide that, and that of Serpent Island, which the Russians wish to swindle out of the treaty. Palmerston says he would prefer Petersburg, as being less Russian than Walewski's house.

October 22nd.—Called on my cousin, the Duc de Gramont, who is French Minister here.

October 24th.—Started for London. Yesterday I dined with Cavour. The dinner was very agreeable, there being no other guests than Hudson and myself. We talked openly on politics, and in the evening General La Marmora came on purpose to be introduced to me. Nothing could be more amiable than Gramont during my stay at Turin; but he is evidently little thought of, whilst our Minister, Hudson, is lord of the place and has the most unbounded influence over the King and his Ministers; but he lives openly with the Revolutionary party, and does not disguise his Italian proclivities. The French seem to me completely at variance with us as to the dishonest frauds of the Russians respecting the meaning of our treaty, and, if Palmerston is not firm, they will get what they want.

November 12th.—Louis Napoleon is said to have given up his intended parties at Fontainebleau in consequence of the discontent expressed at the extravagance of the Court whilst the people are suffering great distress from the high prices. The English and French Ministers have left Naples, and the English and French fleets are blustering in the bay, pretending to be ready to bombard the town. Everyone feels that such an atrocity could not be committed, and that a gentleman might as well strike a woman as fire upon

Naples. At the Lord Mayor's dinner on the 9th, given as usual to the Prime Minister and his colleagues, the Corps Diplomatique was represented by the Mexican Minister and the one from the Republic of Hayti, a black man. Such is the result, for the second time, of Palmerston's aggressive policy and offensive communication with foreign Powers. There is no man so pleasant in his manner in private life, and it is extraordinary that he should not be able to exercise the same courtesy in public affairs.

November 21*st*.—Persigny told me Walewski is in disgrace. The difficulty about Bolgrad and the Isle of Serpents arises from the Emperor having been entrapped into a promise by the Russians; but Persigny has suggested a solution, which has been accepted by the Emperor and our Government—viz. a Congress which is to assemble, into which Sardinia is to be admitted, on condition of voting against Russia. Austria goes with England, and Prussia is of course excluded. This gives England a majority, and the Emperor an excuse for giving way.

From Lord Derby to Lord M. (on the Causes of the Disorganisation of the Conservative Party, &c.)

Knowsley: December 15, 1856.

My dear Malmesbury,—I return you Jolliffe's letters, enclosed in your desponding one of the 7th. I ought to have done so earlier, but I have had Lichfield with me all the week, alone; and we have been so busy shooting, that I have had no time to give to politics. Yesterday I was threatened with a fit of gout, but it has, I hope, quite passed off; and I expect to go to Hatfield to-morrow, and look forward to being with you on Friday afternoon. I shall be very glad to meet[1] Jolliffe there, and to talk over quietly with him and you the position and prospects of the Conservative party.

[1] Whip of the Conservative party, afterwards created Lord Hylton.

That it is in a certain state of disorganisation is not to be denied, nor, I think, to be wondered at; indeed, I am disposed to be rather surprised to find how mere fidelity to party ties, and some personal feeling, has for so long a time kept together so large a body of men, under most adverse circumstances, and in the absence of any cry or leading question, to serve as a broad line of demarcation between the two sides of the House. The breach which was made in the Conservative body by Peel, in 1845–6, and which might have been healed to a great degree if his followers had only given us a fair support, or even stood neutral in the session of 1852–3, was widened by the formation of the Coalition Government, on the avowed principle (or no principle) of discarding all previous party ties. Public attention has since that time been mainly fixed upon the war; and since Palmerston came into office he has adroitly played his cards, so as to avoid, with one or two exceptions, making any attacks upon our institutions, or affording much ground for censure from a Conservative Opposition. In short, he has been a Conservative Minister working with Radical tools, and keeping up a show of Liberalism in his foreign policy, which nine in ten of the House of Commons care nothing about. That a Conservative party should have held together at all under such circumstances is rather to be wondered at, than that there should be apathy and indifference when there is nothing to be fought for by the bulk of the party. As to Disraeli's unpopularity, I see it and regret it; and especially regret that he does not see more of the party in private; but they could not do without him, even if there were anyone ready and able to take his place. For myself, I *never* was *ambitious* of office, and am not likely to become more so as I grow older; but I am now, as I have been, ready to accept the responsibility of it if I see a chance not only of taking but of keeping it. Of that I see no chance with the present House of Commons, unless the Government commit some very gross blunder, and make their continuance impossible. But I agree with you that, if there is to be for many years a chance of power for a Conservative Ministry, it must be secured by active exertions at the general election, which must shortly take place.

Yours very sincerely,

DERBY.

1857

January 1st.—The Conference opened yesterday on the questions of Bolgrad and the Isle of Serpents, which the Russians falsely claim as being included in the treaty of peace. The Swiss are making energetic preparations for resisting the threatened invasion of Neufchâtel by Prussia, whilst England and France are using their utmost exertions to prevent a war. England has declared war against Persia, and Admiral Seymour has bombarded Canton to avenge an insult offered to our flag. As far as I can understand the cause of dispute, it does not appear to justify such a severe punishment. The men arrested were Chinese, and the ship, though bearing English colours, was not English. The Chinese Government has been, however, so troublesome and insolent lately, that probably Lord Palmerston wishes to seize the first pretext for giving them a lesson.

January 9th.—Madame de Bonneval writes that M. de Morny is engaged to Mademoiselle Troubetskoi, a natural daughter of the Emperor Nicholas and a maid-of-honour of the Empress. She is handsome and has black eyes and auburn hair.

January 25th.—The news last received from China is unsatisfactory, for though we are in possession of all the forts, the Chinese have succeeded in setting fire to our factories and banks, and it has been decided, in consequence, to bombard Canton.

January 29th.—Princess Lieven has died at Paris. When I came out in the London world in 1826, she was then Russian Ambassadress, and one of the most fashionable ladies in society. She was very clever and agreeable, but the greatest *intrigante* possible, having been all her life employed by the Russian Government as a spy, or rather, I should say, by the reigning Emperor, with whom she always corresponded directly. She was a great plague to our Secretaries for Foreign Affairs. Guizot, towards the end of her life, kept up political and intimate relations with her. Her son, Paul, was a charming dandy.

January 31st.—Despatches have been received from Admiral Sir Henry Leeke, giving an account of the operations of the English fleet and troops in the Persian Gulf. On December 4th, 1856, the island of Karrak was occupied; on the 7th the troops disembarked, and advanced upon Bushire under General Storkes, protected by the fire of the ships. The position of the enemy was strong, but was carried at the point of the bayonet, with the loss of Colonels Stopford and Malet, who were leading their men to the assault.

February 3rd.—I do not expect any amendment will be moved to the Address, but foreign affairs will be discussed, and I understand that Disraeli will make some terrific revelations in his speech, as Walewski has told him all he knows against Lord Palmerston, and if half only is true, it will damage him extremely. Gladstone and Sidney Herbert appear anxious to join Lord Derby. We reserve our whole strength for the income tax, and support Gladstone's

measure—namely, to pay fivepence now, and nothing in 1860. If the latter joined our party, he would only benefit us by his talents, for on the other hand we should lose many of our supporters. The Duke of Beaufort, one of our staunchest adherents, told me at Longleat that if we coalesced with the Peelites he would leave the party, and I remember in 1855, when Lord Derby attempted to form a Government, and offered places to Gladstone and Herbert, that no less than eighty members of the House of Commons threatened to leave him.

This being the first night of the session, Disraeli made a long and eloquent speech, in which he brought forward the following accusation against the Government: —'Will it be believed that at the very time when Lord Clarendon was listening to the passionate representations of Count Cavour, in which he impeaches the very existence of Austrian rule, a secret treaty was in existence, guaranteeing to Austria the whole of her Italian dominions —a guarantee from France to Austria of her Italian possessions, given, not merely with the sanction and approval of the noble lord (Palmerston), but by the advice and at the special instance of his Government?' Lord Palmerston denied the existence of such a treaty, saying that Disraeli must have been imposed upon by the *gobemouches* of Paris; and went on to assert that it was the first time he had ever heard of such a treaty, and, that if he had, he would have given his advice in an opposite direction. The treaty was an entire romance, without the slightest foundation, except that in the early part of the war with Russia communications passed between the Austrian and French Governments, to the effect that the latter would take no part hostile to

Austria. On the 10th Disraeli repeated his accusation, maintaining that the above agreement between Austria and France had assumed the shape of a treaty, and that it was executed on December 22, 1854. He reasserted that the English Government had known and approved of this.

Lord Palmerston then again rose and repeated that, to the best of his belief, there was no treaty between Austria and France guaranteeing the former's possessions in Italy; but he confessed that, in the latter part of 1854, it was hoped that Austria would join England and France against Russia, and that an agreement was made, that if she did so, and Russia instigated insurrections in Italy for the purpose of distracting Austria, then France would behave as an honourable ally ought, but that she would not encourage any such risings, should the Austrian armies join England and France; and during the war, should disturbances break out in Italy, then France would act in concert with whatever force the Austrians might have to defend their possessions. All this, he said, was known to the British Government. Thus, although Disraeli may be accused of finding a mare's nest, the facts which he stated were correct, but do not bear the same intentions and consequences which he had put upon them. His speech altogether was inferior to his usual power, and was delivered very nervously.

February 4th.—The Queen's Speech told us nothing. It was all about foreign affairs. No reform, excepting in the law. Disraeli's revelations, I think, fell rather flat. Lord Palmerston denied the existence of a secret treaty with Austria, which he was accused of having made. The country may probably believe him rather than Disraeli, but diplomatists will not be so credulous, for what is the use of

a secret treaty if you must confess it to the first person who asks the question?

February 6th.—Lord Derby arrived at Heron Court for the wild-fowl shooting. He seems to think that Lord Palmerston's Government is becoming very unpopular. Lord Aberdeen voted for Lord Grey's amendment to the Address with ten of our men. This is such an invidious thing for an ex-Prime Minister to do, that his intention must have been to show his disapprobation of the Government; and Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons, which one cannot disconnect from Lord Aberdeen's vote, looks as if the Peelites wished to make up their differences with our party; but Lord Derby says that he does not mean to make any advances to them, as they would certainly lose us many of our people. He seems very sanguine about turning out the Government in the course of the session: if we could do it on the income tax, that would be the best, as they would not dissolve Parliament on that question. I made a speech yesterday on moving for returns of the New Forest Commissioners, the number of days they have sat, and the list of claims adjusted, &c. I read my correspondence to the House and was much cheered; all sides agreed that the Commissioners' letter to me was unjustifiable, and the Chancellor blamed it strongly. I hear that Lord Palmerston took my part, and said that if anything on the subject had been said in the House of Commons he would have got up and defended me.

February 8th.—Left for London to attend Lord Derby's meeting.

February 11th.—Meeting at Lord Derby's postponed to

Saturday next, as Disraeli has sent to say that he was so occupied with the secret treaty accusation that he could not attend to any other business.

February 13*th.*—Another discussion last night on the Secret Treaty somewhat alters the complexion of the case. Lord Palmerston got up and acknowledged he had been mistaken with regard to what he calls the 'military convention' between France and Austria not being signed. He now admits it *was* signed. Disraeli repeated again and again that there was a secret treaty between France and Austria, that it had been extensively acted upon, and that on its surface there was no limitation to the period of its operation. Lord Palmerston, upon this, completely lost his temper—a rare occurrence with him, and which makes one believe that he felt himself in a scrape—but he again said, with the strongest asseverations, that it was only a temporary arrangement during the war with Russia, in case Austria joined against her; that it was not signed at our instigation, but only communicated to us as an arrangement already settled between France and Austria. If this be believed, it, of course, exculpates him and his Government, but it proves that when he made his first speech he was either ignorant of, or had forgotten, the circumstance.

February 14*th.*—The Chancellor of the Exchequer brought on his Budget last night. The 9*d.* war tax is taken off, which makes a reduction of nine millions in the year's income. In spite of this boon, there is much discontent on account of these two new wars, the Chinese and Persian, but the Budget is to be cut up by both Disraeli and Gladstone.

February 16*th.*—I went to Middleton. Disraeli assured me that the Secret Treaty is a permanent one. He throws cold water on the China question, which Lord Derby is to bring forward. Gladstone says this Budget is even worse than the famous Budgets of Sir Charles Wood, which were altered half a dozen times.

February 21*st.*—Disraeli made a long and clever speech against the Budget. The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, and made, I believe, a better speech than Disraeli's, and still longer.

February 24*th.*—The Government have carried their Budget by a majority of 80. Many of our men voted with the Government, or rather with Big Ben,[1] the member for Norfolk, who amuses himself with opposing everything on both sides.

February 27*th.*—Lord Ellesmere is dead, and has left his wife 5,000*l.* a year and his yacht. They married without settlements.

The division in the House of Lords on the China question took place last night, and the Government had a majority of 36. Lord Ellenborough and the Bishop of Oxford[2] spoke on our side, both of them very eloquently.

February 28*th.*—If Lord Palmerston had divided upon the China question last night in the House of Commons, he would have been beaten, and he is so nervous about it that he has a meeting this morning to threaten a dissolution in

[1] Mr. George Bentinck, member for Norfolk.

[2] Samuel Wilberforce, afterwards Bishop of Winchester.

case he is not supported. It seems to me an unpopular question for a general election to turn upon. Nobody knows whether Disraeli will speak. I met him at the Levée, and he answered very sulkily, even pretending not to understand what I meant by asking him if he intended to speak. 'Speak! upon what?' he said. He has always discouraged a debate on the China question, for some reason best known to himself.

Lord Derby had a meeting of his party in the House of Commons. One hundred and sixty attended. He began by alluding to the defection of a few of the members of the Opposition on the Budget, which he understood had been occasioned by a report of his having coalesced with Mr. Gladstone. He denied such being the case, but declared in the most emphatic manner that should any member of the Conservative connection attempt to dictate to him the course he should pursue with regard to any political personages whatever, he would regard it as an insult, and no longer recognise that member as attached to his party. This declaration was received with long-continued cheering, and the greatest enthusiasm and the most complete confidence in Lord Derby were expressed.

March 4th.—On the question of the China War, moved by Mr. Cobden, the Government were beaten by a majority of sixteen. The principal speakers were Gladstone, Palmerston, and Disraeli. The latter was very bitter and personal. Gladstone statesmanlike, but dry and heavy. Big Ben tried to say a few words in support of Ministers, but the House would not listen to him. Lord Derby, in the House of Lords, denied the correctness of a paragraph in 'The Press,' giving an account of the meeting of his party on the

27th, saying it was a gross misrepresentation—that words were put into his mouth which he had never used, and that he was even made to say the exact contrary to what he really said. Disraeli will not like this, for 'The Press' is conducted by him, and is his organ, always putting him forward and ignoring Lord Derby.

March 5th.—Lord Granville in the Lords, and Lord Palmerston in the Commons, announced the intention of Government to dissolve Parliament in consequence of their defeat on the China War.

March 6th.—Dr. Ferguson called. He says the China question is an unfavourable one for our party, and we shall get a worse Parliament; also that a coalition with the Peelites is denounced. I fear he is right, for nobody is a better judge of public feeling than a doctor who is constantly seeing all kinds of people. I went to Lord Derby by appointment, and he sent me to Sidney Herbert to make some arrangements with him in concert with our party for the coming elections—namely, that we should not take a hostile part towards each other's candidates, so that, no personal enmities being made, there should be less difficulty in the two parties acting together, should circumstances make it advisable. Sidney Herbert rejected this proposal, saying he thought it better that we should be quite independent of each other, and that he would not pledge himself not to support Lord Palmerston. He was evidently taken by surprise, and did not know what to say, receiving me in a very unfriendly and even uncivil manner. After a very short interview, Mrs. Herbert coming in with her bonnet and shawl on, he got up and said he must go out with her, almost turning me out of

his house. I said, as he seemed in a hurry, he had better write when he had considered Lord Derby's proposal, as he was so confused that I hardly knew what to report to him. This he agreed to, so he must in some measure commit himself.

March 7th.—I got a letter from Sidney Herbert this morning respecting what I said yesterday about the electioneering arrangements, evidently fancying I meant more than I said, for he added that the Peelite party were much divided, there being hardly a subject on which they agreed, and that of course their influence was now much weakened; that he himself was anxious to disperse them and to keep aloof from all parties, as he wished to be independent, and that he would only answer for himself, as there were many others with whom I could communicate.

March 8th.—I met Gladstone last night at the Carlton Club and had a long conversation with him. He had seen Sidney Herbert, who told him of our interview, and Gladstone said he quite disagreed in his views and had told him so. He was evidently displeased at Sidney Herbert's representing the Peelite party as so weak and divided. His leanings are apparently towards us, but he was quite of my opinion that no sort of agreement should be made beyond the one I had proposed, and that we should remain perfectly free and independent of each other.

March 16th.—I have had very unsatisfactory letters about the elections. The report of the coalition with the Peelites has done us irreparable mischief, but Palmerston's personal popularity is the real cause of his successes.

March 25th.—I wrote a letter to Lord Palmerston in

answer to his address to the electors of Tiverton, which has had considerable success. Lord Derby has a terrible fit of gout, which has attacked both ankles, both knees and both elbows. It is impossible his constitution can support these repeated trials.

April 1st.—I went to Heron Court to attend the sitting of the New Forest Commissioners at Christchurch. I received many compliments on my letter to Lord Palmerston, amongst others from Lords Clarendon and Grey, which are worth having.

April 2nd.—News has been received from China, and it turns out that the reported peace was an invention for electioneering purposes, and that the war continues the same as ever. Allum, the baker, and nine others who were tried on the accusation of poisoning bread, are all acquitted, so there is an end of Lord Palmerston's assertion and the ridiculous tirade which he made in the House of Commons about 'poisoning respectable English merchants.'

April 4th.—Most of my claims in the New Forest have been allowed by the Commissioners. The elections are going against us. We have lost fifteen seats in the counties.

April 10th.—Dined with Lord Lonsdale, and went with him to Paris.

One of the guests at this dinner was a doctor who practised as a vegetarian, and during dinner consistently confined himself to green meat and grapes. He was the most singular and repulsive looking man I ever saw, over seventy years of age, about five feet high, and completely

shrivelled in body and face, the last being like parchment and of an orange colour. He held a medical commission in the army, and had been through the whole Peninsular war. Being very quarrelsome, he fought more than one duel with his brother officers. When his death occurred, a few years ago, he was discovered to be a woman! What a story of shame and misery is buried with her in her grave!

April 14th.—The Queen was confined—a princess.

Lord Ossulston says that our tactics are quite unpopular with the country gentlemen, and that they consider the China vote factious.

April 19th.—Returned from Paris. I dined at the Tuileries yesterday. The Emperor had invited me for to-day, but hearing I wished to leave Paris, he very kindly ordered his chamberlain to send me an invitation for yesterday instead. It was quite a small dinner, and I had the place of honour next the Empress, who looked lovely. The Emperor talked to me in the most friendly and confidential manner. His opinion of Disraeli was that he 'has not the head of a statesman, but that he is, like all literary men, as he has found them, from Chateaubriand to Guizot, ignorant of the world, talking well, but nervous when the moment of action arises.' The Emperor is evidently only sensible of Disraeli's peculiarities without doing justice to his genius.

April 21st.—Dashwood, who was my secretary, called this morning and says that the Government has already paid Pisani the 13,000*l.* he asks for his picture of the 'Tent of Darius,' by Paul Veronese, at Venice; but the Austrian Government not only refuses to allow the picture to leave

Venice, but have fined Pisani for selling it, and it is expected the English Government will be obliged to pay the fine for him.

April 28th.—Lady Ely called, and talked to us of the dinner at the Palace last year, where Lords Palmerston, Clarendon, John Russell, Derby, and Malmesbury met, and which Lord Derby characterised to Prince Albert as an illustration of a happy family, a joke which amused him and the Queen very much. It looks as if Her Majesty made up the dinner of these discordant materials for fun, and, from the same *malice*, made me take Lady Clarendon to dinner, as it was only two days after I had attacked Lord Clarendon in the House of Lords, and Lady Clarendon would not speak to me at first, but I ended by making her laugh. The Queen, who was opposite, was highly amused, and could hardly help laughing when Lady Clarendon at first would not answer me.

April 30th.—The Duchess of Gloucester died this morning. She was the last of the children of George III. The new Parliament met at two o'clock, and Mr. Evelyn Denison was chosen Speaker without opposition. Lady Palmerston is very anxious about her husband's health, as he suffers so much from gout and is so weak that he can no longer take either riding or walking exercise. She dreads the meeting of Parliament, as she fears the fatigue and anxiety will be too much for his strength.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

Knowsley: April 30, 1857.

My dear Malmesbury,—I am sorry to say that I am again, very *mal à propos*, confined to my bed by a severe and painful attack of

gout. I have it at present in *both* elbows and one knee, with every prospect of its running the round of my limbs before it takes its departure. I will, if possible, be in town for the opening of Parliament, but I am afraid it is very doubtful whether I shall be able. At all events, if there is to be any chance of my presiding at the dinner to be given to Jolliffe, it must not be earlier than the 16th. Should I not be in my place, you must manage the House for me, and pray impress upon all our friends in both Houses the necessity, in my mind, of being very guarded in their language on the subject of Reform, and of not committing the party hastily to the adoption of any course. If it is not mentioned in the Speech, it will be better not to allude to it. If it is, our language ought to be that of regret that the Government should have thought it necessary to disturb the existing settlement; but that, as they propose to introduce a bill on a subject which requires the most careful calculation of its probable consequences, we shall be prepared to give to it a respectful and dispassionate consideration, and shall hope to find it based upon principles which will enable us conscientiously to support it. You know what are the points to which I would mainly object, but I doubt the prudence of adverting to them until John Russell, Locke King, or some other, have shown their game, and perhaps compelled the Government to some extent to disclose theirs. You may read this letter to Disraeli, in case I should not see him. I wish you also to give notice for me that I am entrusted with a petition, which I will present as soon as the state of my health allows me, from the colony of Newfoundland against the recent Fishery Convention; and, as it will require the assent of Parliament, you may as well find out whether Clarendon will object to refer the petition to a Select Committee, without which the House will legislate quite in the dark as to the merits of the case.

Ever yours sincerely,

DERBY.

May 1st.—I got a letter to-day from Lady Derby, written at her husband's dictation, saying that he is again laid up with gout in both his elbows and wrists, and expected every joint would have its turn. It was, therefore, unlikely that he could be in his place on the 7th, and I must, therefore, replace him and lead the party during his absence. The

duty of answering the Queen's Speech will, for this reason, devolve upon me.

May 2nd.—Disraeli, who called on me yesterday, would not agree to my proposal to have a meeting of the leaders of the party to discuss the Queen's Speech. He said we might call on each other and talk it over, but, for some reason, he objected to the presence of any other member of the party. I, however, insisted upon summoning the other leaders and discussing the question openly with them.

May 4th.—I saw Disraeli last night at the Carlton, sitting at a table with ——. The latter got up in a few minutes and went away, when Disraeli came up to me and said, 'I am the most unlucky man! I came here to meet Colonel Taylor, and the waiter told me he was in this room; but Providence has cursed me with blindness; so, seeing a very big man, whom I took for Colonel Taylor, I rushed to him and fell into the arms of Robert Macaire, who insisted upon my dining with him, made me drink a bottle of champagne, which poisons me, and ended by borrowing fifty pounds from me.' Disraeli, in spite of all these misfortunes, was in very good humour, and agreed at once to my proposal to meet some of his late colleagues next Thursday at Lord Eglinton's. I had a letter from Lady Derby saying that Lord D. cannot possibly come up to London, and begging me to send him some news to amuse him, as they are very *triste*.

May 6th.—Lord Palmerston sent me the Queen's Speech this afternoon, as is the custom from the Prime Minister to the leader of the Opposition. It does not contain any

allusion to Reform, and is the tamest production, even for a Queen's Speech, I ever read.

From Lord Derby to Lord M. (on the Chinese War).

Knowsley: May 6, 1857.

My dear Malmesbury,—I hardly think that the Government will call upon Parliament to pronounce its opinion in favour of the justice of the Chinese War, though I think it probable, or indeed certain, that they will ask for our support in it. Even if they should apply to it, though on the part of the Crown, any laudatory epithet, without asking us to concur in the commendation, it must not be allowed to pass without a frank declaration of our opinions. We have never denied that we had grounds of complaint against China for the incomplete fulfilment of the terms of the treaty, although we thought, and think the more from what has occurred since, that the alleged causes were not sufficient to justify the violent measures taken by the local authorities, that such steps should not have been taken without express direction from the Home Government, and that that Government, as a matter of policy, ought not to have permitted such steps to be taken without the previous provision of an overwhelming naval and military force to compel submission to demands which they might think fit to make. Remember, this must not be said as apologetically for our vote, but as repeating the doctrine which we then held, the soundness of which has been amply proved by the horrors which have been the consequence, and not, as Palmerston would fain make them appear, the provocation to our acts. But as matters now stand we are engaged, whether we will or no, in a struggle for our very existence in the Eastern Seas; and it is no time now to consider by whose fault we have been brought into a position in which we have no alternative but to maintain to the utmost the safety and the rights of our countrymen. Such a course of proceeding is entirely consistent with a deep sense of the reckless impolicy which has led to this state of affairs, and involved us in a war the more formidable because it is not with a Government, but with a nation, and that a nation unchecked by those habits of civilisation which in most cases mitigate the horrors of modern warfare. Such a course on our part would be the most dignified answer to the absurd charges which the Prime Minister of the country, with a

view to electioneering clap-trap, did not think it beneath himself to bring against his political opponents. If the Government should hint at any project for capitalising the Maynooth grant on fair and reasonable terms, I think they ought not to be discouraged. . . . I am glad your letter did not come yesterday, as I should have been unable to dictate an answer, having totally lost my voice. It is better, however, to-day, and I am so far on the way to recovery that I hope in an hour or two to be able to get up to have my bed made, which has not been done for above a week.

Ever yours very sincerely,

DERBY.

May 7th.—We had a meeting of ex-Ministers at Lord Eglinton's. Disraeli was not quite satisfied with the result, and he wished the leaders in both Houses to observe perfect silence, neither to blame nor approve the Speech. He and some others wanted me not to get up immediately after the seconder, as is the custom for the leader of the Opposition in the Lords to do, but to let Lord Grey, who is sure to speak, and Lord Ellenborough, if inclined, make their speeches first. I do not know what their motive could be for giving this advice, but the effect would have been that I should have abdicated the position which Lord Derby had assigned to me. So I refused to follow it, and insisted on conforming to Lord Derby's directions. I therefore got up immediately after the seconder, and all my friends complimented me when I sat down. Lord Campbell came across the House and said he hoped he was not taking too great a liberty in praising my speech. The Duke of Somerset and other supporters of the Government paid me the same compliments.

May 16th.—Lord Derby, having recovered, appeared in the House. Several of the Whigs came across to ask him how he was, and to express their pleasure at seeing him

once more in his place, and I was surprised at the rather cold manner in which he received them; but Lord Colville explained it by telling me that he had called upon Lord Derby and accompanied him to the House, and that he had rather tried to dissuade him from going, thinking he was looking weak and ill, but Lord D. insisted, saying, 'Palmerston says I am dying, but I'll show him I'm alive.'

May 18th.—The marriage of the Princess Royal to the Prince of Prussia was announced to-day in Parliament.

May 20th.—In the Lords the Divorce Bill passed by a majority of 29—47 to 18!

June 25th.—We are suffering under an extraordinary heat. People are really getting alarmed, for if it is occasioned by the comet, which is not yet visible, what must we expect when it approaches our globe! Lord Alvanley died yesterday—perhaps the wittiest man of his day. He was remarkable for the manner in which he could tell a story; and it amused him sometimes to relate them at dinner with such fun that he drove the servants out of the room, who could not remain for laughing.

On one occasion a friend of his came for his advice under the following circumstances:—'Mr. —— has threatened to kick me whenever he sees me in society; what am I to do if he comes into the room?' 'Sit down,' replied Lord Alvanley. He was extremely well-read and full of information, which he imparted in the most delightful manner, and it is a pity that an account he wrote of a journey through Russia, and which he showed me, should not be published.

June 27th.—Very alarming news from India. The mutiny amongst the Sepoys in the Bengal army has spread from Meerut. Three regiments are in open revolt. After some bloodshed they had been dispersed by European troops and fled to Delhi, where they were joined by other native regiments. Delhi was in possession of the mutineers, who had massacred almost all the Europeans, without regard to age or sex, plundered the Bank, and proclaimed the son of the late Mogul emperor to be king.

June 29th.—Went directly after breakfast to Lord Derby, to consult him on what we should say to Mr. Hamilton, who has the management of the 'Morning Herald,' and had written to me yesterday to arrange as to the line which was to be taken. The paper appeared for the first time this morning under the new management. It seems well arranged, with plenty of fashionable news to amuse ladies. I found Lord Derby very careless and indifferent on the subject, and unable to suggest anything. The only thing which seemed to interest him was the subject of the Jew Bill, and for that he had taken the very unnecessary trouble to make out lists, a bore that is generally left to the Whips. Lord Derby has never been able to realise the sudden growth and power of the Political Press, for which he has no partiality, which feeling is reciprocated by its members. In these days this is a fatal error in men who wish to obtain public power and distinction. Lord Derby is too proud a man to flatter anybody, even his greatest friends and equals, much less those of whom he knows nothing. His son, with greater wisdom (for the day), has taken the opposite line, and with benefit to his popularity and advancement.

July 6th.—Lord Clarendon told me a good story of Corry Conellan, Lord Carlisle's secretary at Dublin. The Viceroy, who has taken up the ticket-of-leave men very warmly, told him the other day that he had engaged two in his house as servants. Conellan replied, 'Then you'll be the only spoon left in it.'

The news from India continues bad; General Anson, Commander-in-Chief, is ill. Mr. Roebuck moved a resolution last night that the office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland should be abolished, which was negatived by 151.

July 8th.—I dined with the Brazilian Minister, M. Moreira. His wife is very pretty and agreeable, but the party was eccentric. It consisted of Don Juan of Spain, Cardinal Wiseman, the Duchess of Inverness, Lady Essex, Sir Gore Ouseley, Mr., Mrs., and Miss Roebuck, and a quantity of Portuguese. We sat down at a quarter past eight, and the dinner was not over till a quarter past twelve.

July 11th.—Went to the Queen's ball. Madame Castiglione was there; as she is supposed to be Louis Napoleon's mistress, she was very much stared at and admired. The House of Lords rejected the Oaths Bill by a majority of thirty-four. In the House of Commons, in reply to some question from Sir John Pakington, Sir C. Wood said 'that the latest accounts from China were from Admiral Seymour, dated May 10, and up to that period no operations had taken place, the Admiral waiting for reinforcements. No instructions had been transmitted to the Indian Government directing that the troops embarked for China should be employed in India, and the Governor-General had sent his orders to Ceylon to direct the forces, on their

arrival there, to proceed to India. He had sent a requisition to Lord Elgin to despatch troops, but Lord Elgin had no instructions to comply. Whether he would deem the case so pressing as to induce him to do so on his own responsibility remains to be seen.' [1]

The news of General Anson's death from cholera on the march from Umballa to Delhi has arrived. He is succeeded by General Barnard. The whole of the Northern Provinces of India are in open insurrection.

July 12th.—Lady Carrington tells me that Mrs. Anson is in a dreadful state of grief. Lord Panmure sent for Lady Newport, her sister, and she and Lady Forester broke it to her. Her grief seems to have been very great, and her having left him is an aggravation to her sorrow. 'The Observer,' a Government paper, says '*that with vigour and energy we may still keep India.*' As Lady Carrington remarked, 'A fortnight ago, we should as soon have thought of losing Manchester as India.' Sir Colin Campbell is appointed Commander-in-Chief, and started this morning at twenty-four hours' notice. In the Crimea he proved himself a first-rate soldier. Lord Ellenborough made a very eloquent speech, asking the Government what they meant to do, but they refused to give any information.

July 16th.—Gave a dinner to the Persignys, Jerseys, Lady Glengall and daughter, Lord and Lady Raglan, Comte de Jaucourt, Barrington, and Norman Macdonald. Madame de Persigny was late, as usual, and M. de Persigny came without her in a hack cab, which is the way he generally

[1] Lord Elgin, to his eternal honour, complied with Lord Canning's request, and this accidental reinforcement probably saved India.

goes out to dinner, as he is almost always obliged to leave the carriage for his wife. He was much put out, and begged us not to wait, so we went to dinner, and the only place left for her was near the door, between Norman Macdonald and Lady Raglan. Poor M. de Persigny looked miserable, could hardly answer, and kept continually looking towards the door. Madame de Persigny arrived in the middle of the first course in a great flurry, her eyes evidently showing signs of tears. They exchanged a furious look of defiance, she eating her bread very fast as if to keep down her rage. At last Lord Loughborough made her laugh by his usual jokes, and by the time we went upstairs she had recovered her good humour, though not so poor M. de Persigny; I could get nothing out of him. When the party broke up Count de Jaucourt handed Madame de Persigny to her carriage, and returned to us to say, 'Vous serez bien aises d'apprendre que l'Ambassadeur et Madame de Persigny se sont embrassés sur l'escalier.'

Mr. Curzon, General Anson's aide-de-camp, has written an account of his death, which vindicates him from the charge, which the Government followers tried to fix upon him, of slowness and want of energy. It seems he was perfectly well at Umballa when the insurrection broke out, and he then exerted himself so much, and so incessantly, allowing himself no rest by day or night, that he was quite exhausted when the cholera seized him. He sank under it, and died at Kurnaul, on the march to Delhi; but he preserved his calmness to the last, gave all the necessary orders, sent for General Barnard, to whom he gave up the command, sent his love to Mrs. Anson, and a message, saying it was a great comfort to him to know she was safe in England. Mr. Roebuck's motion to censure Government for proceeding

with the Persian war without the sanction of Parliament was negatived by 352 to 38.

July 21st.—I went to the Duchesse d'Aumale's breakfast at Twickenham. The Duc de Richelieu called. I never saw him in such good humour; he is delighted with his life in London, and with the reception that all society has given him. It is said that the mutiny, up to the present moment, has cost the country seven millions.

August 5th.—Lord Ellenborough attacked the Government of India, and was answered very sharply by Lords Granville and Clanricarde, to whom I replied.

August 6th.—The Persians, knowing of our difficulties in India, have refused to evacuate Herat, so that the war in which our Ministers embarked so rashly, and to prosecute which they denuded India of its defenders, furnishing the rebels with the very opportunity which they desired, turns out to be a mere waste of human life and treasure, without producing the objects for which it was waged. I dined yesterday with the Jerseys. Lady Stuart de Rothesay read an extract from Lady Canning's letters, giving an account of the horrible barbarities practised by the rebels in India, who roast the children, ill-use and murder the women.

August 7th.—Left London for Achnacarry. The heat was quite overpowering.

Achnacarry, August 10th.—The Emperor and Empress of the French, accompanied by the Walewskis, arrived at Osborne on the 6th at 9 A.M. They were received by the

Queen at the pier. The object of their visit is kept very secret, but I have no doubt it is to discuss the question of the Principalities,[1] upon which the English and French Governments are at variance. Their disagreement is so serious that M. Thouvenel has struck his flag at Constantinople. The Emperor has long been very much dissatisfied with Lord Palmerston, and I suppose that, finding Persigny has failed in obtaining any concessions, he has come to try and settle matters himself with the Queen; and certainly his bringing his Foreign Secretary, together with the fact that Lords Palmerston and Clarendon are summoned to meet him, looks very like a conference.

August 12th.—Delhi is not taken, as reported, and the horrors committed there by the mutineers will not bear description. The heat even here continues to be tropical.

August 13th.—Extraordinary precautions were taken during the Emperor's visit to Osborne. Eighty detectives were sent down from London, besides French police. The strictest guard was kept round the Palace and over the island. Besides this, a number of men-of-war's boats guarded the shore, and did not allow a single boat to approach.

August 14th.—The troops destined for China are arriving daily at Calcutta. Lord Palmerston has given way on the question of the Principalities, so the Emperor has gained his point by his visit to Osborne. The dispute arose on a

[1] This was the case, and the Emperor prevailed. The French wished to place them under one Hospodar. We and the Porte insisted on there being two.

question of the union of the Principalities, which France, Russia, Prussia, and Sardinia supported. England, Austria, and Turkey opposed the union, and, the elections in Moldavia having been in favour of England, the French, Russians, &c., accused the English Government of having influenced them unfairly, and demanded that they should be annulled. The Porte refused this, upon which the Ambassadors of France, Russia, Prussia, and Sardinia struck their flags. The Emperor Napoleon then, instead of wasting time in useless correspondence, came over himself, and the question was settled at once. I do not pretend to judge whether Palmerston was right or wrong, but his defeat must have cost him a bitter pang. Louis Napoleon's Ministers have been completely won over by the Russians, especially Walewski.

August 31*st*.—Count Chreptovitch, who has been here some days, left us this morning, to the joy of everybody. All felt that he hated us, which the Duc de Richelieu says is the case, and we therefore took care never to talk politics or mention India before him. He has not been able to get on at all with Lord Palmerston. Indian news is very bad, and confirms the account of the massacre at Cawnpore of all the garrison, and 240 women and children. General Havelock has defeated the mutineers wherever he could reach them, but his forces are very inferior to his task, and his position at times would appear desperate.

September 9*th*.—Lord Derby arrived, and appears to me to be in very low spirits—quite without his usual *entrain*.

September 16*th*.—Better news from India. General Havelock has defeated Nana Sahib in two more engagements,

taking all his guns; but his army has been attacked by cholera, which has obliged him to return to Cawnpore without relieving Lucknow.

September 29th.—A tremendous gale and rain. The whole party sat together in the drawing-room, each obliged to tell a story. Mine was as follows, and was founded on the fact that Richelieu had refused to shoot with Loughborough in consequence of his always hunting his pointers down wind:—

There was once a young Highland shepherd, who was drinking at a burn, and being in the humour of desiring for all sorts of things that he had never seen or possessed, he wished that one of the fairies he had heard of, who haunted the place, would appear and give him whatever he wanted. At that moment his dog howled, and a pixie stood before him. 'I have heard you,' she said, 'as I sat under that pebble in the burn, and I will give you whatever you wish for, but it must be one thing only and for ever.' 'Thank you,' said the lad, not at all alarmed, 'I have only one desire in the world, and that is to go to sea and become a rich merchant.' This happened before steamers were invented, and the fairy answered most graciously, 'Mr. MacGuffog, I will give you what is the most essential thing for a prosperous voyage and successful trading—namely, wherever you go you shall have a fair wind whichever way you turn yourself or your ship.' The young MacGuffog fell on his knees with gratitude, and having given the fairy a pull at his whisky-flask, went forthwith to Fort William, and enlisted as a cabin-boy on board a merchantman. It was not very long before the fact became known that whatever ship he was on board always had the wind astern; all the trading captains hired

him at any price, but he soon gained enough to sail on his own account, and by the time he was thirty, the rapid voyages he invariably made cut out everybody else, and gave him such advantages that he realised a large fortune. He then remembered his native hills, and determined to buy an estate upon them. This he did, but he felt that he was not really a Highland gentleman without a deer-forest, and therefore he extended his domain, took off the sheep, and hired the best stalker in Scotland. All this being prepared for his happiness and amusement, he started with him to stalk in his own forest, but day after day he was disappointed by the perverseness of the weather, the wind constantly changing the moment he went out. Whatever circuits he took he found himself always going down wind, so that, whether as single deer or herds, no animal allowed him to approach within a quarter of a mile. He looked upon this merely as a piece of bad luck, till by chance, crossing the burn on which he had seen the pixie fifteen years before, he heard a tiny giggle and then a long low laugh. Turning round, he saw the little woman, and then the terrible truth broke upon him that if he lived to a thousand years he never could possibly kill a stag.

This was my story, and as to that of Lord Loughborough and the Duc de Richelieu, which suggested it to me, it was as follows: That Lord Loughborough, being obliged to shoot in spectacles, could not face the rain and wind on a wet day, which was the case when the Duke went out with him.

October 1*st*.—General Havelock's force made a second advance upon Lucknow on August 22, but was again obliged to fall back. The 5th and 90th Regiments are on their way up the river to reinforce him. Three Bombay regiments

have mutinied since the last mail arrived. It is said that Lucknow has only provisions till the 21st, and is now upon famine rations. Letters from Calcutta bring several very serious accusations against Lord Canning, the most important being that Lord Elphinstone having telegraphed to him at the beginning of the insurrection to offer to send a fast steamer from Bombay, which could easily be done, and by which a fortnight would have been saved, Lord Canning sent a peremptory refusal. When General Anson died, Lord Canning named Sir Patrick Grant Commander-in-Chief, but the Government at home superseded this appointment by naming Sir Colin Campbell. Lord Canning is an intimate friend of mine, and was Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, under Lord Aberdeen. He is clever, and deservedly popular, and when he was offered the Government of India he came to me to ask my advice as to his accepting it. Without any hesitation, knowing his character as I did, I advised him to refuse, and, had he followed my advice, it is probable that he would have saved his life and distinguished himself in Parliament and held the highest offices in the Cabinet, as our political leaders had a good opinion of him and he had a great name. The offer, however, was tempting, and he accepted it, little expecting the terrible difficulties he would encounter almost before his foot was in the stirrup.

October 3rd.—This morning my stalker and his boy gave me an account of a mysterious creature, which they say exists in Loch Arkaig, and which they call the Lake-horse. It is the same animal of which one has occasionally read accounts in the newspapers as having been seen in the Highland lochs, and on the existence of which in Loch Assynt the late Lord Ellesmere wrote an interesting article, but hitherto the

story has always been looked upon as fabulous. I am now, however, nearly pesuaded of its truth. My stalker, John Stuart, at Achnacarry, has seen it twice, and both times at sunrise in summer on a bright sunny day, when there was not a ripple on the water. The creature was basking on the surface; he only saw the head and hind quarters, proving that its back was hollow, which is not the shape of any fish or of a seal. Its head resembled that of a horse. It was also seen once by his three little children, who were all walking together along the beach. It was then motionless, about thirty yards from the shore, and apparently asleep, and they at first took it for a rock, but when they got near it moved its head, and they were so frightened that they ran home, arriving in a state of the greatest terror. There was no mistaking their manner when they related this story, and they offered to make an affidavit before a magistrate. The Highlanders are very superstitious about this creature. They are convinced that there is never more than one in existence at the same time, and I believe they think it has something diabolical in its nature, for when I said I wished I could get within shot of it my stalker observed very gravely: 'Perhaps your Lordship's gun would miss fire.' It would be quite possible, though difficult, for a seal to work up the river Lochy into Loch Arkaig.

October 18th.—General Outram has behaved very generously to Havelock, and has told him he would not deprive him of the glory he so well deserved of relieving Lucknow, but would leave him in command of the expedition and would serve under him. The 'Daily News' gives the Order in Council issued by Lord Canning on July 31, the object of which is noble in its nature—namely, to transfer the

power of punishing the mutineers from the military to the civil authorities; but it is the act of a *doctrinaire*. Nothing could be more ill-timed and injudicious. The time to show mercy will be when we have completely regained our authority and restored peace, and when our power will be so undoubted that we may pardon the guilty without our mercy being attributed to fear. Then, again, if the military authorities, instead of judging criminals on the spot, have to send them to Allahabad, which Lord Canning orders, or keep them in prison, a great part of our army will be employed in escorting prisoners and guarding gaols. The only excuse for this proclamation is the impossibility of obeying it, though it may serve to show that its author is a Christian and an amiable man.

October 23rd.—Left Achnacarry.

October 24th, Chillingham.—The Ossulstons are going to Compiègne for the *fête* there. News has arrived of the fall of Delhi, which was stormed on September 14. The resistance was obstinate, and our loss severe, amounting to 50 English officers and 600 men killed and wounded.

In my diary there was of course a great deal about the Indian mutiny, but I have quoted only enough of it to save myself from any accusation of indifference to events which stirred England, and, indeed, the whole civilised world, at the time, with all the emotions to which the human mind is liable. The atrocities of the rebels, who spared neither age nor sex, were only equalled by the courage of the victims. Who can measure the heroic resignation of those English ladies first besieged and then murdered at Cawnpore and Lucknow? Who can measure the difficulties and personal

labour of Havelock, that great Christian soldier, who died in the cause? That terrible Sepoy war (admirably described by Kaye) is the moral as well as military glory of our race. The generous Outram resigned his command to Havelock rather than pluck a leaf from his laurels; the veteran hero Clyde, as strong as ever in battle, then the fiery avengers, Neill and Rose—the former forcing the assassins of Cawnpore to lick up the blood of their murdered victims; the latter traversing Central India with his army, and dealing retribution with an unsparing sword. I have passed over the details of these things as they happened at the time, and as I then noted them, and also the emotions which they created in our quiet social circle during my autumn visit to the Highlands. May our Indian rulers profit hereafter by this terrible lesson!

November 11*th.*—I was much grieved at receiving news this morning of the death of my cousin, George Harris, who had been my private secretary, and was now consul at Venice. He was a remarkably clever man, and had, by his social qualities and natural ability, obtained great influence in the place, and made it almost a legation. Mr. Conyngham has sent me the telegrams just received from India. Lucknow was relieved on September 25. The enemy's entrenchments were stormed on the 26th, and on the 29th a large part of the city was taken; but General Neill is killed and 450 men. The death of the former is irreparable. He had commanded the Madras Fusiliers. Our losses at Delhi are 61 officers and 1,178 men. General Nicholson has died of his wounds; so we have paid dearly for our victories. The old King of Delhi was taken by Captain Hodson, fifteen miles out of Delhi, accompanied by his chief wife, and their

lives were spared, but two of his sons and a grandson were shot on the spot, and their bodies brought into the city and exposed in the police office.

November 12th.—The Duchesse de Nemours died suddenly at Claremont yesterday. She had been confined a fortnight ago, and was going on so well that she got up. Whilst her maid was dressing her, she exclaimed, 'Je me meurs,' and fell back in a fainting fit, from which she never recovered. The Duke had gone out riding, thinking her quite well, and on his return found her dead.

November 13th.—The 'Times' of to-day announces two very important facts. One, that the Government have suspended the Bank Charter Act; the other that Parliament is to be called together immediately. I have been reading the last two volumes of Raikes's memoirs, which are very interesting, almost entirely political, and some parts well written, though not grammatical in places, the word 'who' not always referring to the antecedent, which produces a ludicrous effect. I knew Raikes well, and read the original in manuscript, which was much more amusing than the publication. Almost all the most racy anecdotes have been omitted, and the few that are left, being given without the names, have no interest. A great deal has been left out in consequence of its not agreeing with the political opinions of the editor, Mr. Charles Greville, who, being a Peelite, would not allow anything against Sir Robert Peel to be published, so that the events of 1846 are suppressed or garbled, though the journal comes down to 1847. That year was not forgotten by Mr. Raikes, who was an uncompromising old Tory and Protectionist, and who let everybody know it.

November 14*th*.—Mrs. Augustus Villiers called and told me the cause of the Duchesse de Nemours' death was ascertained to proceed from a simple drop of coagulated blood in one of the arteries. In all other respects she was perfectly healthy.

The claims that are to be made upon England by the merchants of various countries for compensation in consequence of the bombardment of Canton will, it is said, amount to several millions.

November 15*th*.—Havelock has written to Sir Colin Campbell, asking for reinforcements, as he was hemmed in at Lucknow and could not return to Cawnpore. Sir Colin answered that he had not a man to send, and if he had there were no means of transport to send them up the country. Lord Canning is much blamed for not having organised a transport corps since the beginning of the war. Havelock's position is thought to be one of imminent danger. He is now in the same position as the garrison he marched to relieve. He has lost 500 men and his best officer, General Neill. The English ladies who went to Compiègne for the *fêtes* have just returned, and seem to have been greatly amused. The Emperor as much occupied with Madame Walewska as ever. They were struck with the freedom in conversation and manners of the Court, which is most remarkable in Princess Mathilde. Their forgetfulness of all *convenances* is quite incredible, and in more than one instance excited the disgust of the Empress as well as that of her guests.

November 18*th*.—A friend of Lord Canning's told me he supposed I should speak against him. I said I had no such

intention; was deeply sorry to hear him abused, and that I had written to him three months ago, urging him to adopt a vigorous line against the rebels, as the feeling in England was very strong, and no other policy would be approved. I had always considered Lord Canning one of my most intimate friends.

November 19th.—Poor Augustus Stafford has evidently been killed by his doctors, judging by the evidence at the inquest. He had first a tremendous dose of laudanum for spasms, then was bled to the extent of thirty ounces; the bandage afterwards coming off, he lost a good deal more blood, and in this state of exhaustion the doctor and his servant were obliged to keep him walking about to prevent his dying from the laudanum. When this failed to keep him awake, they beat the soles of his feet for several hours with such violence that they broke the pieces of wood and took off all the skin from his feet. This saved him for the moment, and he went to Dublin for further advice, but died in a few days from utter exhaustion. He told Mr. H. Herbert that he had been horribly treated, and was dying from the effects of that treatment. Mr. Herbert very properly urged an inquiry, and his father also expressing a wish to that effect, an inquest was held, but the jury acquitted the doctor, whose colleagues gave evidence in his favour. I hear that Lord Strangford married Miss Lennox ten days ago. The marriage took place at Lord Stamford's place in the country. Lord Strangford was dying when the ceremony was performed.

November 25th.—Good news has arrived from India; the 53rd and 93rd Queen's Regiments have joined Havelock at

Lucknow. Colonel Greathed's flying column will also join him there from Delhi, when he will have 7,000 men, which will enable him to remove the garrison. Colonel Greathed has gained two victories over the fugitives between Delhi and Agra, took forty-three guns and five lakhs of rupees. Miss Anson's marriage with Mr. Curzon[1] is announced.

November 27th.—Received a letter from Lord Derby, who comes to London on the 30th to have a conference with the leaders of the party. He says he has heard from Disraeli, who is very pugnacious. Lord Ellenborough also means to speak his mind openly upon India, but, as usual, does not seem willing to work with anybody else. People talk of our victories in India as being proofs of Lord Palmerston's glorious administration. I cannot myself see that anybody deserves any credit for them, excepting our splendid soldiers; for these successes have been gained by a handful of troops who were there at the time the mutiny broke out and before a single man had arrived from England. Moreover, if he had listened to Lord Ellenborough and our party, who urged his Government to send out more troops two months sooner, the massacre at Cawnpore and a great many other atrocities would have been prevented.

November 30th.—Mr. Bentinck called and announced the death of Lord Fitzhardinge, whose last words were: 'The angel of death is hovering over Berkeley Castle, and if you don't feed those ducks in the lower pond, I'll be d——d if you don't lose them all.' Old habit strong in death!

December 1st.—Lord Canning is again much blamed for

[1] Now Earl Howe, 1883.

his conduct to the talookdars, the great native landowners. The chief of these is Maun Singh, who is one of the largest holders of property in Oude, but had been deprived by the late King of a considerable portion of his estates. He promised to support us if we reinstated him. Our Government was pressed to accede to this by some of our ablest men, but they temporised, and Maun Singh decided to act against us, and roused all the other talookdars, and our countrymen had scarcely obtained possession of Lucknow when they found themselves besieged there. . Saw Lord Derby this afternoon in high spirits and evidently determined to make a slashing speech, but nothing can be arranged till he has read the Queen's Speech.

December 2nd.—I was greatly shocked on my return home to hear of the death of Norman Macdonald from apoplexy. We had been great friends since we were at Oriel. He was Comptroller of the Lord Chamberlain's Department. He was calling on Lady Ely at the moment of his seizure, and died the same day. He was a very obliging and friendly man, and much liked in society.

December 3rd.—The Queen opened Parliament to-day. The Duchess of Manchester was in the House. She was full of Compiègne. When Lord Derby got up, people ceased talking. His speech was very good, some parts extremely eloquent. He attacked Lord Canning and the Government in England and quizzed Mr. Vernon Smith unmercifully. Lord Granville made no defence either for the Government or for his friend Lord Canning, simply saying that they must stand or fall by their own acts. Lord Ellenborough then made a very good, short, and energetic speech, but in rather too loud and overbearing a tone. The Duke of

Argyll followed; Lord Panmure speaking as usual with his terrible fluency. Lady Stuart de Rothesay is now a sort of authority upon India, and if she gave her information in a less voluble manner would be a great acquisition at this moment. One amusing anecdote she related was about a court-martial which assembled to try a prisoner. When it was over, one of the officers, happening to go into the verandah, knocked against something which proved to be the body of the accused, whom the soldiers placed to guard him had hanged during the deliberations, fearing that he might be let off.

December 12th.—The news from India continues good. Our forces, under the splendid leadership of Grant, Outram, Sir Colin Campbell, and Havelock, are holding their own against Nana Sahib with 50,000 men.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved last night for the reappointment of the select committee to inquire into the operation of all the Bank Acts. Disraeli moved an amendment, which was rejected by a majority of 178.

December 24th. — Great news from India. Lucknow taken on November 17. Sir Colin Campbell reached Alumbagh on November 12, began fighting the next day, and took several positions. He crossed the canal on the 16th, and, after an obstinate struggle, took Secunderabad. Early on the 17th communication was opened up with the barracks. A long cannonade was commenced, and the place was carried by assault. The troops pushed on and occupied Motee Mahal before dark. Generals Outram and Havelock then met Sir Colin Campbell, and a most affecting scene took place. At Delhi twenty-four inferior members of the royal family were executed by sentence of a military commission.

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January 1st.—A summer's day.

January 7th.—News has arrived of Havelock's death from dysentery, produced by anxiety and exposure. He has left an immortal name. General Wyndham has been defeated at Cawnpore by the Gwalior insurgents. One regiment, the 64th, suffered greatly, and its tents and baggage were taken. Sir Colin Campbell hearing of this disaster, marched upon Cawnpore, attacked the Gwalior army, and totally defeated it.

January 16th.—An infamous attempt was made on the 14th to assassinate the Emperor Napoleon. Three grenades were thrown at his carriage as it stopped at the door of the Opera-house, and all exploded, shattering the carriage, killing the horses, and wounding a great number of persons, but the Emperor and Empress were unhurt. The Emperor's hat was torn and his forehead slightly scratched, as also was the Empress's cheek. Their reception by the audience at the Opera was most enthusiastic, and their return to the Tuileries a perfect ovation. The number of wounded is 102. Twenty-seven persons are arrested, all of them Italians. Orsini the chief was himself severely wounded, which prevented his escaping, and led to his apprehension. His servant foolishly went about inquiring after his master, and when asked his name, fainted. On his recovery he was threatened with arrest if he did not give his address. He did so, and the gendarme went to his house and found Orsini in bed with a severe wound in the head. On seeing them he exclaimed

'Je suis perdu,' and then attempted to pass himself off as an Englishman, but his accent betrayed him.

From Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Heron Court: January 17, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—If you have an opportunity, pray be so kind as to express to the Emperor my congratulations at his wonderful escape. In common with all Europe I rejoice at it for public reasons, but do so also from personal feelings for him. The French must admire the defence of Lucknow, say what they will. They may have generals who would have done as well as Inglis in defending the place, but they have no one who could have written his simple though eloquent despatch.

Yours truly,
MALMESBURY.

January 20th.—We are asked to the Princess Royal's wedding.

January 21st.—The Queen was exceedingly gracious to me at the ball yesterday, expressing her regret that Lady Malmesbury could not attend. I was much amused at overhearing a conversation between Persigny and Sir George Lewis on the subject of the attempt on Louis Napoleon. Sir George affirmed that the cause of the attempt was the occupation of Rome by the French. Persigny replied, 'If we were not there, the Austrians would be.' The other answered: 'In that case, the Emperor of Austria would have been assassinated.' Persigny, at this, got into a towering passion, and said that the cases were quite different. The Emperor of Austria had two hundred heirs to the Crown, and the Emperor of France only one. I tried to appease him, for he was in a perfect fury, and accompanied him into one of the outer rooms, where we sat talking for half an hour.

January 25th.—The marriage of the Princess Royal with

Prince Frederick William of Prussia takes place to-day. Immense crowds assembled to see the carriage go to the Chapel Royal. The 'Morning Post' says Lord Palmerston carried the sword of State 'with an easy grace and dignity;' the 'Times' says 'with a ponderous solemnity.' The Princess Royal was quite composed.

February 1st.—Persigny is much alarmed at the state of public feeling with respect to the refugees, and says that if England does not make some concession we must have war. The Emperor will do all he can to keep peace, but fears he will be unable to do so should we remain obstinate. This will oblige us to make some alteration in our laws respecting refugees,[1] for at this moment, when our resources are taxed to the utmost to reconquer India, we are not in a position to have war with anyone.

February 9th.—Lord Palmerston introduced his bill for an amendment of the law respecting refugees yesterday evening. It was very ill received, and the debate adjourned. The only alteration proposed, however, is to make conspiracy to murder felony instead of a misdemeanour, which it has hitherto been; but the Emperor has given such offence by countenancing the insults offered to England by the French colonels, that John Bull has got his back up, and though the Emperor declares that he did not know of these addresses of the colonels in the 'Moniteur,' and regrets them, England is greatly offended, and not disposed to please France. A vote

[1] England is now paying for her long-continued reception and protection of well-known assassins who have fled from justice to our shores to teach our criminals the mysteries of dynamite and other deadly compounds. The first inventor of these, and of the clockwork apparatus for exploding them, was a German, who had prepared the destruction of a ship during its passage to America.

of thanks to the Government and army of India was also proposed yesterday. Palmerston had given notice that a vote of thanks to the army and navy of India would be moved on February 8. He then, without any notice, added Lord Canning, Lord Harris, and Lord Elphinstone. This, of course, gave rise to great discussion, and many things were said which must be very painful to Lord Canning. Lord Palmerston was obliged to declare that if the vote passed it would not prevent any future discussion on Lord Canning's conduct. Lord Elphinstone's name was loudly cheered by all parties, who agreed that he had thoroughly deserved the thanks of Parliament.

February 10th.—The discussion on the Refugee Bill was resumed yesterday. Lord John Russell spoke against it. Disraeli supported the Government, and the House divided in favour of the bill by a majority of 299 against 99.

February 12th.—Lord Grey in the House of Lords presented a petition of the East India Company, protesting against its abolition, and made a very fine speech.

February 13th.—Lord Palmerston introduced his bill for the abolition of the East India Company, bringing no accusation against it, or giving any intelligible reason for this act of spoliation.

February 17th, Heron Court.—Lord and Lady Derby arrived with Lord Ossulston. The former talked very openly upon politics, and evidently will not refuse office if it is offered him.

February 19th.—Hard black frost. We went out wild-fowl shooting. The Bill for the Abolition of Church-rates

passed in the House of Commons by a majority of 53. Mr. Tom Baring's amendment to the India Bill defeated by 145.

February 20th.—Ossulston, who left yesterday, arrived again at four o'clock, bringing the news of the defeat of the Government upon Mr. Milner Gibson's amendment to the Refugee Bill, which was to the following effect: 'That this House hears with much concern that it is alleged that recent attempts upon the life of the Emperor of the French have been devised in England, and expresses its detestation of such guilty enterprises. That this House is ready at all times to assist in remedying any defects in the Criminal Law, which, after due investigation, are proved to exist, yet it cannot but regret that Her Majesty's Government, previously to inviting the House to amend the law of conspiracy, at the present time has not felt it to be their duty to make some reply to the important despatch received from the French Government, dated Paris, Jan. 20.' The majority of our party voted for the amendment, which was carried by a majority of nineteen—234 against 215. Lord Palmerston made a very intemperate speech, and actually shook his fist at the Manchester clique. Disraeli's face was worth anything—a mixture of triumph and sarcasm that he could not repress. Ossulston voted with the Government.

February 21st.—I got a letter this morning saying that Lord Palmerston has resigned, and that Lord Derby would be sent for. I telegraphed to Lord Lonsdale, 'What news? Ought I to come?' and the answer arrived at two o'clock, simply saying, 'Come up directly.' So it is evident Lord Derby is sent for.

I go up to London to-morrow.

February 22nd.—Went to London, and found that Lord Derby had accepted office. He has requested me to take the department of the Foreign Office. Lord Ellenborough has the India Board; Bulwer joins in the Colonial Office; Gladstone and Lord Grey refuse to join, and Lord St. Leonards is succeeded by Sir Frederick Thesiger as Lord Chancellor. The War Office and Admiralty are not yet filled up.

February 24th.—The Cabinet is made up as follows: Premier, Lord Derby; Lord Chancellor, Lord Chelmsford; President of the Council, Lord Salisbury;[1] Privy Seal, Lord Hardwicke;[2] Foreign Office, Lord Malmesbury; Home Office, Mr. Walpole; Colonies, Sir E. Bulwer-Lytton;[3] Admiralty, Sir John Pakington; War Office, General Peel; Board of Trade, Mr. Henley; First Commissioner of Works, Lord John Manners; Board of Control, Lord Ellenborough;[4] Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Disraeli. In giving me the Foreign Office, Lord Derby has imposed a very great responsibility upon me. At this moment our relations with France are in a state of more than tension, and it will require the utmost temper both in this country and there to clear away the clouds that threaten a storm. I have great confidence, not only in the good sense of the Emperor, but also in what I consider to be the undoubted disposition he entertains to do all he can to keep well with England. In the numberless conversations I have had with him, I have always observed this feeling to be uppermost, and that he is quite aware that his uncle owed

[1] The Marquis of Salisbury died April 1868.
[2] The Earl of Hardwicke died September 1873.
[3] Lord Lytton died in January 1873.
[4] The Earl of Ellenborough died September 1871.

his great misfortunes principally to his constant enmity to this country. I do not feel so much confidence in his Ministers, Walewski and Persigny, but I hope and believe that he holds them firmly in hand, and that he will not allow their prejudices or passions to act upon his policy.

February 25th.—All the arrangements are completed, and the new Ministers kiss hands to-morrow. Lord Derby is to make his statement on Monday. Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald is Under-Secretary to the Foreign Office, and I have appointed Mr. Bidwell and Mr. Wolff[1] as my private secretaries.

February 26th.—The hard frost continues. Lord Derby's Government has several times been on the point of breaking down. The worst hitch happened yesterday. Lytton was forced to resign the Colonies, finding that he could not be re-elected for Hertfordshire. I persuaded Lord Stanley to take the office to serve his father's Government, so all is right again.

From Lord M. to Lord Cowley.[2]

London: February 27, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—I have only a moment to say that I am glad to find an old friend and one so eminently useful as yourself still at Paris. I hope you will give me your assistance as willingly as you did in 1852. Persigny declares, *sur la tête de ses enfants*, that the animus is good at the Tuileries.

Yours sincerely,
MALMESBURY.

[1] Now Sir Henry Wolff, M.P. for Portsmouth.

[2] Earl Cowley died in 1884, after a most distinguished career in diplomacy. I never knew a man of business so naturally gifted for that profession. Straightforward himself, he easily discovered guile in others who sought to deceive him, and this was well known to such. He remained ambassador at Paris till 1867, and was not a little assisted by the remarkable intelligence of his wife, *née* de Ros, and by her knowledge of the world, of society, and of courts.

March 1st.—Lord Derby made his statement this afternoon to an immensely full House, and spoke well. Lady Malmesbury has come up, which is a great comfort to me, as I have been here without servants or carriage, obliged to dine at my club, where I am surrounded by discontented faces, and worried by those who want places. Lord Stanley is Secretary for the Colonies in the place of Sir E. Lytton.

From Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: March 1, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—There can be no doubt that you will be rendering a public service at this moment in assisting me to calm the wayward spirits on both sides the Channel. That is the first and most important point. Then again no one is, or can be, *saturated* (this is Clarendon's word) like you with the questions emanating from the Treaty of Paris and impending in the approaching Conferences. After all this is settled, and if I am still in office, it will be time to talk over your personal wishes respecting yours. I therefore, with much pleasure, consider you to have complied with every request. I will write again to-night if I have anything to tell you after Lord Derby's statement. Pray mention that we think of sending some respectable gentleman to Naples to watch the trial of the Engineers, and give a fair and complete report of their state. He will merely take a letter to Caraffa, and not stay a day after the business is settled. The French appear to have acted *loyalement* in this business at Naples, and they need not think that we have any *arrière-pensée*. There is now only a Deputy Vice-Consul to report, of whom *I* personally know nothing.

Yours sincerely,

MALMESBURY.

March 2nd.—Lord Grey said to Lady Tankerville that he would have joined Lord Derby's Government if it had not been for Mr. Disraeli, and that Mr. Gladstone would also have joined him had he been offered the leadership of the Commons. The Duchess of Manchester is made Mistress of the Robes, *vice* the Duchess of Wellington. The Duke of

Wellington has given his adherence to Lord Derby, although he accepted the Garter from Lord Palmerston, and Lord Derby had given away his place at Court to the Duke of Beaufort.

From Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

London: March 2, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—We find it utterly impossible to proceed with Palmerston's Bill. Lord John Russell has thrown himself into the arms of the Radicals, by whom he has been gladly taken, and he and Gladstone have pledged themselves, with 140 men, to interrupt *any* bill, in *any* way, and for *any* time. If we are beaten now, Lord John must be the next man. Clarendon agreed with me that all moderate men must deprecate such an advent accompanied by a Reform Bill, which would make the House of Commons a revolutionary and unmanageable body. . . .

Yours sincerely,
MALMESBURY.

From Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

London: March 2, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—I must now inform you *où nous en sommes* with M. de Persigny upon the Refugee question. I had two interviews yesterday with him, and Lord Derby had another, in which we laid before him (according to previous agreement) the model of such a despatch as might satisfy the House of Commons. It was a suitable protest against the insinuations contained in Count Walewski's despatch of January 28, and would at the same time allow the French Government to find a dignified *échappatoire* from the present position, so painful to all parties. To the general tone, Persigny made no objection, but he pressed earnestly that we should not enter into any argument in defence of our law, but confine ourselves to vindicating the honour and character of the English people. . . .

Prepare, therefore, the way for this course and consummation; it is difficult and almost impossible to do so here satisfactorily. With the best animus, Persigny is so *emporté*, that we cannot reason with him; his vehemence and excitability make interviews anything but agreeable. I wish particularly to avoid any sort of complaint

being made of him to his enemy, Walewski, or even to the Emperor upon *this score*; but there is one point which *you must* press upon the Emperor, and which *he must* in his turn press upon Persigny—namely, that it is utterly fatal to the carrying out of delicate operations, or even of routine business, if he repeats and relates to the Opposition all that passes between him and Her Majesty's Ministers. After my first conversation on the 20th, in which we proposed a course somewhat similar to the present, he went and related the whole to Lord Palmerston, and, that you may not doubt the fact, he himself told me that he had done so, together with Palmerston's observations. You know well enough that, whatever the Government, and whatever the Opposition, it is impossible to carry on political matters unless the Foreign Ambassadors are tongue-tied with the Opposition. It always was looked upon as a point of honour, just as it is with our own, many of whom must be always opposed to the *de facto* Government in opinions. Pray, then, let him be warned by his *master*, but not by his *fellow-servant*, whom he hates with all the bitterness imaginable.

Yours sincerely,
MALMESBURY.

March 4th.—Sent my despatch in answer to Walewski's to-day. Sir E. Lytton is offended with Lord Derby, whom he accuses of having acted with unjustifiable haste in filling up the Secretaryship of the Colonies. It appears there was some misunderstanding between the two—that Lytton only said he was not sure of his re-election, which Lord Derby understood to be a positive statement that he could not re-obtain his seat.

From Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: March 4, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—I send you a despatch which is intended by us to be the reply to Walewski's unfortunate production, and which you will present at once, *unless you see good reason for the contrary*, which you will announce by telegraph. The Cabinet find that to pass Lord Palmerston's bill is *impossible*. Even were it not so, it would be so opposed by J. Russell, Gladstone, and the Radicals,

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that with 140 followers they could keep the question open, and becoming daily a sorer wound, for a month. Do not pledge us to any reform of the law whatever. The law is itself on its trial in trying Truelove and Bernard. Three others, including Pyat, are to be prosecuted for an infamous libel recommending the murder of the Emperor. You will easily understand that the sentence in the despatch alluding to the law having been unused by our Government from reasons of discretion means a want of evidence, or a fear of giving too much notoriety and false importance to the refugee conspirators. But really you ought to remind the Emperor of his view of the case of these scoundrels in 1852, when I came into office. Austria, Russia, &c., had addressed the strongest remonstrance to us against the refugees, and invited France to join them. He treated them with contempt, and no one expressed it more strongly from him than Walewski, then Ambassador in London. I think he may be reminded of this. If we fail in our prosecutions our hands will be strengthened, and the popular feeling may abate; but it is now passion and not reason, and our Parliamentary opponents are making capital of it. If the Emperor, then, possesses any of his former sagacity, he will see that he had better *drop so hot a coal.* 'I have been utterly misunderstood; I meant to demand nothing; but, after showing to England, whom I believe to be a friend and ally, the danger I have been in, and suggesting by what means she might assist in preventing a repetition of such a tragedy, I am met with misconstruction, and even hostile language. Trusting, therefore, to God, &c., France, &c., I shall say no more about it.' If done in a dignified manner, I think it would have a good effect on all here, except those whose profit it is to work up a row, and he might put in language which, whilst it made his people angry with us, would consign the quarrel to the tomb of Pritchard.

Yours sincerely,
MALMESBURY.

March 6th.—M. de Persigny is furious at our party coming into office, as he is devoted to Lord Palmerston, and instead of assisting me to restore the friendly feeling lately subsisting between England and France, has done all he can to prevent my attaining that object; not only by relating to

Lord Palmerston all that passes between us, but by writing letters to the Emperor to increase his irritation. My impression is that the Emperor is pretending to be more angry than he really is to please the French; but that, if we are firm, he will give way, and intends to do so. I believe, however, that the late attempt on his life has greatly shaken his nerves, that he is spoilt by a life of ease and pleasure, and does not stand being shot at as well as he used to do. Lord Brougham says that Bernard, the assassin, would be bailed, as there were people ready to put down money to any amount, and if he were, he would leave the country. This would greatly complicate our difficulties with France.[1] There was a great party last night at Lord Palmerston's, and the language of the Opposition was very bitter. They look upon office as their birthright, and upon those who deprive them of it as brigands who have robbed them of their property.

March 9th.—Sir Watkin Wynn's place in Wales has been burned down. The company that was in the house had only time to escape in their night-clothes. They rushed out by the back door, the ground being covered with snow, and a tremendous gale blowing, and the poor women stood long in it without any other covering. The fright and excitement probably saved their lives. After the confusion had somewhat subsided, some coats were found, and they were taken to a house in the neighbourhood. Lady Wynn's jewels and plate were saved, and also the title-deeds of the estate; but Lady Vane lost everything, clothes and jewels, to the value of 5,000*l.* A few pictures were saved, and fortunately the most valuable ones by the old masters had been

[1] Dr. Bernard was concerned in the attempt on the Emperor's life.

sent to the Manchester Exhibition. The damage is estimated at 100,000*l.*

March 12*th.*—Walewski's answer to my despatch arrived this afternoon. Persigny, who is very unwell, got out of bed on purpose to bring it to me. He thinks all the annoyance this business has occasioned him is the cause of his illness. The tone of Walewski's despatch is very friendly, and must be considered as giving full satisfaction to England. It is even better than I expected from Lord Cowley's letters. Persigny, when he presented it, announced that he had resigned his post of Ambassador. As soon as he left I went to Lord Derby at the Treasury, and he was much pleased, the more so as he feared it would not have arrived in time to enable Disraeli to announce its receipt to-day to the House of Commons, which meets for the first time since the adjournment. He had been with Lord Derby a short time before I arrived, and was much annoyed at the delay in the arrival of the despatch, so that when Lord Derby sent a message to him asking him to come to him, as Lord Malmesbury was there, he rushed up in such a desperate hurry that he nearly knocked over the messenger, and entered the room in a great state of excitement. When the despatch was produced, his delight was indescribable and amazingly demonstrative, considering the usually phlegmatic manner in which he receives news of all kinds.

March 13*th.*—The House of Commons showed a hostile feeling yesterday. Not a word of satisfaction was expressed by the Opposition at the settlement of the quarrel with France, whilst a violent attack was made upon the Government for not taking immediate steps for procuring the re-

lease of the English engineers who were imprisoned at Naples, having been captured in the 'Cagliari.' This was a Sardinian ship, freighted and manned by the Carbonari, and intended to land a party in Calabria to stir up that part of Italy. No doubt this object was known to the Sardinian Government, and was to provoke a war, either through the seizure of the ship or from the attack thus intended. The two English engineers, Watt and Park, were made prisoners in her, and confined at Naples. A bitter contention has been going on for some time between that Government and ours as to their release, and also as to the legality of the seizure of the 'Cagliari,' the Government of Naples positively refusing to give way on either subject. The Cabinet to-day lasted four hours. I shall lay the correspondence with France on the table of the House of Lords next Monday. Walewski's explanation is more satisfactory than we could expect, considering that we did not give the slightest hope of any concession; but, of course, it is far from cordial, and if unfortunately any more attempts are made on the Emperor's life by refugees from England, war will inevitably ensue.

March 14th.—Lady Tankerville dined at Lady Palmerston's, where she met the Persignys—Madame in dreadfully low spirits at having to return to Paris. Count Kielmansegge, the Hanoverian Minister, told her it was perfectly ridiculous in Persigny to make such scenes because Lord Palmerston was turned out and Lord Derby come in; that a foreign ambassador ought to have no politics except those of his own country, and it ought to make no difference to him which party was in office, it being his duty to be friends with

all. I hope Persigny is really going over, as I am sure it would be both difficult and disagreeable for me to have anything to do with him. He is perfectly untrustworthy, repeats everything to Lord Palmerston, and even appears to act according to his instructions. The first time I met him at the Foreign Office he literally raved, laying his hand on the hilt of his sword (he was in Court dress), and shouting, 'C'est la guerre! c'est la guerre!' during which scene I sat perfectly silent and unmoved, till he was blown, which is the best way of meeting such explosions from foreigners.

From Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: March 14, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—Your letter of the 13th is very important, and must give rise to the most serious apprehensions, because it foresees the possibility—nay, the likelihood—of our being, by a mere change of a Minister here, the victims of one man's views, and that man not the Emperor. Now I should like to have from *you* (for no one else can tell me) what are Walewski's views? What is his *but*? With regard to Persigny, *we* are old personal friends, and I congratulated myself on finding him Ambassador at this time, but he has behaved in so extraordinary a manner, not only by repeating the confidential conversations which Lord Derby and I had with him to Palmerston, but by going about in the *salons* and abusing his successors with the language and manner of an electioneering agent—in short, with such a total want of dignity and common discretion, that the whole Corps Diplomatique are in amazement. I shall consider such to be bygones if his importance here is what you describe; but it is absolutely indispensable for the furtherance of friendly communications between him and me that he should play his *rôle* in the humdrum way—namely, keeping his ears and eyes open, and his mouth shut, and, above all, not meddling as a partisan in domestic politics. If it ever were known to the public that a foreigner did this, the Press and their readers would be utterly unmanageable on the subject. Pray, then, give me your opinion of Walewski's political views, and why he wants to quarrel

with a country the hostility of which was the cause of the first Emperor's fall? His character is not grand enough to think of *revenge*! We shall lay the 'Cagliari' papers before Parliament, and probably refer the question again to our Crown lawyers. It was a great indiscretion—if not worse—of Azeglio to publish Phillimore's opinion. Bernstorff is trying to obtain the freedom of the engineers, and if you have a chance, pray observe to the Neapolitan Envoy at Paris that their liberty must be the first and indispensable step to a reconciliation with his Government.

Yours sincerely,
MALMESBURY.

March 15*th*.—I offered the Embassy at Vienna to Lord Stanhope,[1] who refused, saying that he was too old.

March 16*th*.—The remarks of all the papers on the correspondence with the French Government are favourable, except those of the 'Post,' which obeys the orders of the Emperor to write me down. The 'Times' is most complimentary. Disraeli, encouraged by a good attendance of our party, spoke extremely well on the 'Cagliari' question.

March 19*th*.—The Neapolitan Government have released the engineer Watt, on the representation of Mr. Lyons, who reached Naples on the 11th. Park is still in confinement at Palermo, where Mr. Lyons is going to see him. Our Government has hitherto been fortunate. In the short space of three weeks we have arranged the misunderstanding with France, with the exception of the feeling of irritation, which time only can appease, and which is inevitable, as we have refused all concessions on the Refugee question and the claims of the French Government for their extradition. We

[1] The late Lord Stanhope, the historian.

have obtained the release of the engineer Watt, and a promise of the immediate trial of Park.

March 20th.—Dined at Lady Molesworth's last night, where we met the Palmerstons and Madame de Persigny, who was crying at her husband's having given up the Embassy. She still seemed to hope they might stay. At that moment Persigny arrived, walked straight up to her, without noticing anybody else, and whispered in her ear. She got up, and went into another room, he following; and they walked about the rooms, out of one into another, in a state of great agitation. Persigny ending by rushing out of the house, to the amazement of the company, to none of whom had he said a word! I had an audience of the Queen this afternoon at six. Her Majesty kept me for an hour, and made me sit down—an honour seldom granted. I dined with the Montroses.

March 22nd.—I presented Baron Brunnow as Minister Plenipotentiary of Russia. The Queen received him well. She gave me an audience first, so Brunnow was obliged to wait, which must have annoyed him, as he said to me yesterday: 'Ne me faites pas attendre au Palais. Lord Palmerston me faisait attendre une ou deux heures, et quelquefois ne venait pas du tout.' This unpunctuality of Lord Palmerston's was the grievance and terror of the whole Corps Diplomatique, and Van de Weyer assured me that during his mission he had read through the eight volumes of 'Clarissa Harlowe' in the ante-room, waiting for audiences of Lord Palmerston. A Levée and Cabinet afterwards. Dined at the Palace. Lord Brougham is trying to bring about a recon-

ciliation between Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, and is very spiteful in his manner towards our party in the House of Lords. I believe the Duke of Bedford opposes it.

From Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: March 23, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—As soon as your telegram arrived I went to the Queen and informed Her Majesty of the intentions of the Emperor in respect of his new Ambassador at her Court. I never saw the Queen more pleased, not only at the choice of so distinguished a person as the Duc de Malakoff, but also at the remarkable delicacy which prompted his Imperial Majesty to select one whose name is so familiar and so popular in this country. The Queen begged me not to lose a moment in replying to you by telegraph how much she felt the compliment thus paid her. I need not tell you that personally I am rejoiced at the choice.

Yours sincerely,
MALMESBURY.

March 24th.—I hear the Emperor was unwilling to accept Persigny's resignation, and kept it some days in his pocket without telling Walewski, who, hearing of it, went to the Emperor and insisted on his accepting it, under a threat of resigning himself. The Emperor, who is supposed to be still influenced by Madame Walewska, gave in, and Walewski at once sent a courier to Persigny announcing the fact. The bag contained only one despatch, and that was in these words: 'Votre démission est acceptée.' Poor Persigny was furious at this insult, and I have no doubt on his return to Paris he will succeed in regaining the Emperor's ear, for Walewski in his heart is no friend to the English alliance, and is all for Russia. It is now settled and announced that Marshal Pélissier is to succeed Persigny. Baron Brunnow is much annoyed, as he expected and wished his friend the

Marquis de Moustier to get the place. De Moustier is very Russian in his policy.

March 25th.—The Jew Bill has passed the House of Commons by a majority of 153. Mr. Roebuck's motion for the abolition of the Irish Lord-Lieutenancy was rejected by a majority of 127. I have nominated Mr. Elliot[1] as Minister to Copenhagen, Lord Augustus Loftus to Vienna, and Sir John Crampton to St. Petersburg. They are all promotions in the line and by seniority. A subscription is being raised to give Madame de Persigny a bracelet from the ladies.

From Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: March 25, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—Society was at first startled by a Marshal's arrival, and the diplomatists, particularly, looked glum, but I think more at what they knew was a compliment and earnest of the Emperor's goodwill than because they thought it hostile. Almost all hate our close alliance with France, and could not conceal their joy during the late squabble between us. Brunnow is utterly disgusted. The Queen and Prince have again expressed their satisfaction at the Marshal's appointment. I have submitted to the law officers your question as to Bernard's surrender. He will be tried almost immediately on the felonious indictment; but we fear that at that we may fail, for in neither country could a man be prosecuted for being an accessory to a murder committed abroad by one *foreigner* upon *another*. If Orsini had been English, or any Englishman had been concerned in the actual murder, there would have been no difficulty in bringing Bernard under the English statute. If that fails, the other indictment will stand. Allsopp does not come under our Extradition Treaty with the United States, but we hear he has bolted, and will most likely be brought over by some kidnappers from the Havanas or Panama for the 200*l.* I think it quite as well that Pélissier should not come till the 12th.

Yours sincerely,

MALMESBURY.

[1] Son of Lord Minto.

From the same to the same.

Foreign Office: March 27, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—I think it as well to inform you that I have taken the opinion of the law officers on the question whether the French Government can demand the extradition of Simon Bernard, and whether Her Majesty's Government would be empowered to surrender him if such demand were made, and I have been informed by them in reply that Simon Bernard, not having been accused of the crime of murder committed 'within the jurisdiction of the requiring party' (the Emperor of the French), the foreign Government cannot, under the Convention of 1843, demand his extradition, and that Her Majesty's Government would not be empowered or authorised to surrender Simon Bernard if such demand were made. You will inform Count Walewski of this, and that Bernard will be tried by a Special Commission next month.

Yours sincerely,
MALMESBURY.

March 30th.—I dined with the Persignys. Lady Shaftesbury called to show us three bracelets, on which she wished to have our opinion. We selected two, and proposed giving Madame de Persigny the choice, to which she assented.

April 5th.—A hurricane from the north-east. M. d'Azeglio arrived, and I appointed to meet him at the Foreign Office. I think he is disposed to give us trouble about the 'Cagliari' question. I believe it to be quite true that Lord John has refused to join Palmerston, who tried to persuade him to coalesce with him to turn us out; but Lord John remembers the way he was treated by Palmerston, and will not hear of a coalition with him or his party.

April 6th.—Went to Windsor.

April 7th.—Lady Palmerston has done everything to

persuade Lord John Russell to coalesce with her husband and turn us out, but Lord John will not hear of a coalition. Lucknow was stormed on March 9, and completely in our possession on the 15th.

From Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: April 10, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—As I shall see you so soon, it is hardly worth while troubling you with a letter, but I wish you to ascertain before you come over whether the French are prepared soon to renew with us our diplomatic relations with Naples. I cannot do so till the 'Cagliari' case is settled, and I can't settle it till I have our Crown lawyer's opinion, which I shall receive on Monday. I have little doubt as to what it will be in respect of the long detention of Watt and Park—namely, against the Neapolitan Government; and if so, we shall have to ask for compensation. I hear that the Neapolitan Government are very anxious to renew their relations, and this would make my demand go down more easily. What would the French ask as to their conditions? I am in a singular position on this question. I am made Minister on purpose to resist interference on the part of France with our laws, and I am also expected to keep up a quarrel with Naples in support of interference with their institutions. What a set we are!

Yours sincerely,
MALMESBURY.

From the same to the same.

Foreign Office: April 13, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—I shall be very glad to see you, as I want to consult you on a great many subjects. The law officers have *unanimously* declared the detention of Watt and Park illegal, and that they have a right to redress for this, and compensation for loss of reason and health, which in men of that class amounts to starvation. The Government will therefore demand it. If we had had a Minister at Naples, these men would have been out in a week. Pray tell all this to Walewski frankly, and that I am ready to march with him at the proper time. If you can get any good advice from any quarter given to the King on the subject of acceding to our

demand, pray do so. How would you settle the 'Cagliari' affair if (as it will be) there are four great lawyers in favour of the seizure and three against it? Is there any precedent for such a doubtful but important case being submitted to a committee of governments, or to a mediator, if he can be so called? How is maritime law to be settled for all of us? I wish we had half our China fleet here at home. I fear nothing will be done.

Yours sincerely,
MALMESBURY.

April 14th.—I got a letter this morning from Colonel Phipps, saying that the Queen wished us to put off our proposed dinner to the Duc de Malakoff, as he is only to arrive to-morrow, and it is etiquette that he should dine first at the Palace. I therefore wrote to all our guests to appoint another day. Two hours after another letter arrived from Her Majesty saying that we could appoint any other day we liked, and that if we acquainted the Queen with the date fixed upon she would not give a dinner on that day, so as not to interfere with us. We therefore fixed the 24th, and of course asked the same set as I had invited for the 17th. What could be more gracious and good-natured than this on the part of Her Majesty?

From Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: April 15, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—. . . . This acquittal of Bernard is a very painful affair. There was cheering and every sort of rascally demonstration disgraceful to our country. Pélissier was very well received; and the Queen and he mutually pleased with each other. He dines at the Palace to-night, where I am to meet him. The Queen is much disappointed at your not being over here, as she thought you might be, to join the party.

Yours sincerely,
MALMESBURY.

From the same to the same.

Foreign Office: April 15, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—I think you may as well announce to Walewski, *officieusement*, that our lawyers, being *unanimous* on the question of detaining our engineers—that they were so detained *unlawfully* and are entitled to *compensation*—I have demanded the same from Caraffa in a civil letter; this is an *English* case. The other, the capture of the ship, interests all maritime Powers, and, therefore, Great Britain the first. But here, out of seven English lawyers consulted, three say the capture was legal, four illegal. We cannot, therefore, in this position take a strong line, although Sardinia is trying, with a somewhat unfriendly zeal, to put the pressure of popular feeling upon us. It would be very desirable to induce the King to play the part of a *Grand Roi*, to give our men a competent sum, and to liberate the Sardinian ship and crew. We can't ask him to own himself in the wrong when the majority of our lawyers are for him; but this plan would save his *amour-propre*, and put an end to a question which, in the temper of Sardinia *de se faire mousser*, might bring on an Italian conflagration—which God forbid! Would the French give good advice to their two Italian Courts?

Yours sincerely,
MALMESBURY.

April 16th.—The Duc de Malakoff called upon me, but did not touch upon business. He talked of the Crimea the whole time. I presented him to the Queen at three o'clock. He had never seen Prince Albert, and, as the Queen did not present him, he evidently took him for some lord-in-waiting, for he turned his back upon him whilst talking to the Queen. Suddenly it seemed to occur to him who the Prince was, for he turned towards him and exclaimed, 'Comment! c'est vous!' and made a low bow. The Queen and Prince were much amused. I have sent a despatch to Naples asking for compensation for the imprisonment of the engineers. Disraeli announced it this afternoon in the House of Commons, and it was received with cheers from all parts of the House.

April 17*th*.—Dined at the Palace. The Duchess of Manchester, the Breadalbanes, the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, the Duc de Malakoff, General Sir James Simpson, Sir William Codrington, &c. Lady Churchill, who was in waiting, looked charming—such a pretty face and lovely expression. Went afterwards to Lady Palmerston's party.

April 19*th*.—To the disgust of everybody, Dr. Bernard is acquitted. There is but one sentiment—that of abhorrence at the disgraceful verdict of the jury. I told Madame Malaret that it was almost always the same on political questions.

April 22*nd*.—I went to the Drawing Room, where the Duc de Malakoff also attended. He was immensely pleased at having been cheered all the way from his house in Hyde Park by a very respectable mob. It made a great impression on him, and he said to me, 'After such a voluntary demonstration from the English people, how can I obey my orders, which are that I am to behave with the strictest reserve to everybody in this country? It is impossible for me to do so, and after this compliment I shall certainly meet the English with the same cordiality as they have received me, and this will apply to your Government as well as to private individuals.' He evidently had been prepared for a cold reception, but the people had taken their own line, which was that of grateful recognition of the hero of the Crimean war. M. de Jaucourt, attached to the French Embassy, told me that M. de Persigny resigned from rage at Walewski's settling the quarrel between the two Governments without him, and hoped that the Emperor would not accept it. When the answer came, accepting his resignation, he was completely knocked down.

April 24th.—The Duke of Cambridge, the Duc de Malakoff, the Manchesters, the Northumberlands, the Staffords, the Derbys, the Rokebys, Sir R. and Lady Airey, Sir James Simpson, and Jem MacDonald dined with us to-day.

April 28th.—The ex-Ministers actually voted the night before last against a Minute they had themselves prepared just before they were turned out on the subject of competitive examinations; and last night they supported Mr. Locke King's bill on the county franchise, though they voted against it last year, and were saved by us from defeat. Our party, I am sorry to say, are, or pretend to be, offended with Disraeli. They, of course, ought to know that we are in a minority and can neither help it nor disguise the fact.

April 29th.—I spoke on the 'Cagliari' question, and stated my opinion that it had arisen from a determination of the Sardinian Government and their supporters in this country to provoke an Italian war; but our Government were thwarting this in every way we possibly could, as, when once a catastrophe of that kind had begun, it would probably become European. I was supported in this view by Lord Grey, and I was complimented by Lord Granville, Lord Clanricarde, Lord Clarendon, and Lord John Russell as I left the House. I don't think the Opposition will give us any further trouble on this subject at present. Mr. Kinglake, who was to bring forward a motion on the 'Cagliari' question, expressed himself perfectly satisfied.

May 7th.—We dined at the Palace—a party of 85—in honour of the Queen of Portugal. Duchess of Kent and the Royal Family, Prince Hohenzollern and his son, father and

brother of the Queen, Terceiras, Manchesters, Exeters, Abercorns, Beauforts, Derbys, Hardwickes, Chelmsfords, Clarendons, Lady Palmerston, and Lady John Russell; the dinner magnificent; all served on gold plate, and did not last long, but the standing afterwards was dreadful. The Queen of Portugal is certainly pretty, with an innocent expression, tall, and graceful in her manner. No one could sit down till eleven o'clock, when the Queen and her guests retired to one of the drawing-rooms, where the round table was placed. The rest of the ladies sat on sofas round the room.

May 8th.—Lord Ellenborough has got us into a scrape by producing his answer to Lord Canning's proclamation. He gave only extracts to the House of Lords, but by some blunder the despatch in full was laid on the table of the House of Commons, and must be productive of mischief both in India and at home; and what makes it worse is that it was given by Mr. Baillie, the Under-Secretary of the Board of Control, to Mr. Bright. Nothing can be worse, and it may lead to the resignation of the Government, or, at all events, to a dissolution.

May 10th.—I think the Government must go out, unless Lord Ellenborough resigns. The Whigs and Radicals have united, and a vote of censure is to be brought forward in both Houses.

From Lord M. to Lord Canning.

London: May 10, 1858.

My dear Canning,—I am sure you will believe that, as perhaps your oldest friend, I am much annoyed at the events of the last few days. I must, by the laws of *solidarité*, take my share of blame in acts which, though marked with inexcusable indiscretion, had no

motive of personal hostility to yourself. *I* never saw the Proclamation nor Lord Ellenborough's despatch until I read both in the 'Times' of the 8th inst., for neither came before the Cabinet. I consider that I am justified, although a Minister of the Government that has committed towards you and the country the blunder of publishing Lord E.'s secret despatch, in advising you strongly, as a private friend, not to follow the bent which your mind may probably take *at first*, if it be that of resigning your post. Neither Lord Derby nor any of our party wish it, and the whole country is ready to give you all the credit you merit for having so well encountered the extraordinary difficulties of your position. To resign on a point of party and political honour at the moment when you have all but consummated your work, would be sacrificing your future fame to a *temporary* provocation, which ought not to weigh an ounce in the balance. The Opposition are to bring on the subject this week in the most hostile form, and may very likely turn us out; but if we remain in office, I repeat that Lord Derby and the Cabinet are friendly towards you. I told the Queen last night that I should write to you in this sense, and she seemed very anxious that I should do so. You will, of course, consider this advice as strictly confidential.

Ever yours sincerely,

MALMESBURY.

May 11th.—I have appointed Sir Henry Bulwer Ambassador to Constantinople. It has always been the object of his ambition. Lord Ellenborough has resigned, and has written a very handsome letter to Lord Derby, promising to give him every support in his power out of office. I never heard a more noble and affecting speech than Lord Ellenborough's, announcing his resignation in the House. It took everybody by surprise, and the consternation on the front Opposition bench was great, as it defeated their intentions, and made us safe.

May 12th.—It is expected that the Opposition will move the vote of censure on Friday, as before arranged, but perhaps the exact terms of it will be changed in consequence of Lord Ellenborough's resignation.

May 13th.—The motion of censure is to be brought forward in both Houses on Friday, and I think it will be carried in the Commons.

May 14th.—Went to the House of Lords, where there were only two seats left in the gallery when I arrived, all filled with ladies. The steps of the Throne, the Peers' and Strangers' galleries crammed, and all so attentive to the debate that every word was heard. Lord Ellenborough's speech was very fine. The division took place about twelve, and the Government had a majority of nine. For the resolution—93 present and 65 proxies, total 158; against—118 present and 49 proxies, total 167.

From Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: May 14, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—Since writing this morning, we have received news from Churchill at Ragusa and from Vienna, to the effect that the Montenegrins, on the night of the 12th, treacherously attacked the Turks during their voluntary and settled evacuation of Grahova, and cut them up, killing the Pasha and Delarue, the negotiator. These are the brigands the French are supporting. It will add to our complications, inasmuch as the Porte will naturally be more unwilling to allow things to be settled quietly, and to sit down quietly under such a defeat. On the other hand, you should induce the French to understand that it can do them no credit to be *partisans* of such fellows, although they are justified in joining with us and the three other Powers to put a stop to a war which may spread throughout Turkey. If her other provinces should rise against her, Her Majesty's Government could not interfere at all, and if it is a case of Christian sympathy, such a civil war would fall on our co-religionists most awfully. The first thing Walewski has to do is to stop his cursed hero Danilo, who is now evidently the aggressor.

Yours sincerely,

MALMESBURY.

May 16th.—A reconciliation has at last been effected between Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell. Mr. Ellice arranged a meeting at his house, where they shook hands. This was followed by Lord John Russell's speech on Friday night on Mr. Cardwell's motion of censure on the Government. Even without this we should be beaten in the Commons, but of course now the majority will be larger. The longer the debate is protracted the better it will be for us, and the news from India, if unfavourable, would influence the division. Lord Derby has seen the Queen, and though he is not at liberty to make use of her name, still he may announce a dissolution of Parliament on his own responsibility. After I got home I received a despatch from Lyons, announcing that the Sardinian Government would accept my proposals. D'Azeglio was to have called, but never came, and I suppose he must have got the same news, and did not think it necessary to do so. Besides this, he is certainly annoyed at my having settled matters with the Sardinian Government, and defeated their plan for a war, and didn't like to be the bearer of the good news.

May 17th.—Lady Tankerville says that at Lady Palmerston's party last Saturday she was seated next to Lady William Russell, who, talking of the reconciliation between Lord John and Lord Palmerston, said, 'They have shaken hands and embraced, and hate each other more than ever.' Lord Derby has offered a seat in the Cabinet to Sir James Graham, who has refused, saying he is too old and broken in health to accept, and that his sympathies were always with Lord John.

May 18th.—The debate last night in the Commons

was much in our favour. Whiteside's speech was very powerful.

Lord Harry Vane proposed to suspend legislation on the Indian Government Bill until next session; a motion which was negatived by a majority of 390. This was the more satisfactory as it was considered in the light of a vote of want of confidence. Lord Derby had a meeting at the Treasury yesterday, which was very enthusiastic.

May 19th.—The Opposition had another uncomfortable night yesterday in the Commons. Mr. Vernon Smith, ex-Minister for India, was dreadfully badgered. Disraeli said that the letters received by Lord Ellenborough from Lord Canning allude to occurrences which appear to have been explained in former letters, which have never been seen by this Government. Lord Palmerston would not allow Mr. Smith to answer, but got up himself and said that if there were other letters they must have been lost, as he had never seen them. Lord Canning's despatches have been received, and are to be laid on the table of the House of Commons to-morrow, before the division takes place. The whole world has gone to the Derby. It is now believed that the Proclamation was sent to Lord Canning from England by the last Government, but I can't credit it. Lady Malmesbury informed me there was a report that Mr. Cardwell would withdraw his motion of censure; but I hope that Disraeli will insist upon dividing, and Lord Derby is also of that opinion, seeming sure that Disraeli will not give way. I had great misgivings, and too truly, for at seven P.M. Mr. Bidwell arrived in great glee, and told us that the resolutions were withdrawn, without any objection from Disraeli, and that we should have had a majority of thirty if he divided. I regret it, as a motion

of censure is like an attack on a man's honour, that ought to be met and defeated, not evaded. Disraeli defends the course he has taken, of allowing the motion to be withdrawn, by saying the feeling of the House was decidedly in favour of it, and that none but the immediate partisans of Lord Palmerston wished to go on with it; the debate having from the first day taken a much larger view of the question than the motion indicated, and turned entirely upon the policy of the Proclamation and of the Government's disapprobation of the policy it enunciated. In this temper of the House the publication of Sir James Outram's remonstrances, even though coupled with Lord Canning's defence, had a great effect, and they felt they could not do otherwise than approve of our policy. Our people also wished to avoid a dissolution.

May 27th, Heron Court.—We came down here for the holidays; Lady Jersey, Lady Clementina Villiers, the Baillie-Cochranes are with us, and also Lord and Lady Raglan. Ossulston and Mr. Bidwell arrived. The last brought a telegram announcing the arrival of the 'Monarch' at St. Helen's, with my brother and his family on board, returning from Chili.

May 29th.—Beautiful weather. I drove the party to Avon Cottage, a very pretty fishing lodge on the river, five miles from Heron Court.

June 5th.—Lord Bath, who took the Garter to the Queen of Portugal, has received a Portuguese Order of the first class in diamonds, and has got permission to wear it.

June 8th.—Mr. Gladstone's amendment to the India Bill

for postponing legislation to next session was negatived by a majority of 149.

June 9th.—Bill for the Abolition of Church Rates passed the Commons, and Mr. Berkeley's motion for ballot was rejected by 97.

June 11th.—I got a telegram this morning from Mr. Lyons, announcing that the King of Naples grants the compensation of 3,000*l.* asked for the English engineers, which is to be paid immediately to the Foreign Office, and that he gives up the 'Cagliari' and crew to the English Government. I kept this a secret from everybody, as I wished to have the satisfaction of announcing it myself in the House of Lords this evening.

June 12th.—Disraeli's announcement of the termination of our dispute with Naples by the grant of 3,000*l.* to the engineers and giving up the 'Cagliari' to England was received with enthusiastic cheers. The ex-Ministers and their adherents were completely taken by surprise, and would not even pretend to be pleased that a quarrel which at one moment threatened a general war should have terminated in a manner so satisfactory. This news had evidently a great effect upon the House, for the Government passed a resolution on the India Bill, relating to the number of the Council, by a large majority.

Lord Clarendon to Lord M.

Grosvenor Crescent: June 13, 1858.

My dear Malmesbury,—I was glad to find that you took the same view I do of the neutral Senate which the French want to impose on the Principalities, and which is nothing else than a plan

for establishing and perpetuating anarchy by means of an oligarchical Republic. The plan is of Imperial, and not Walewskian, origin, which is the reason why I suggest to you that it might be easier to render the proposed arrangement harmless than to have it altogether withdrawn. My notion is that the Central Senate ought not to be a deliberating and law-passing assembly, but should be simply a Committee consisting of a small body of equal number of members, appointed, not by the provincial assemblies, but by the Hospodars; and that this Committee should meet solely for the purpose of framing and suggesting measures to be submitted for the consideration of the two Governments, who, if they approved of them, might propose those measures to their respective provincial assemblies. Modified in this way, the French project would be comparatively harmless. If Walewski tries to wriggle out of the agreement come to at Osborne last year, pray do not hesitate to call me as a witness.

CLARENDON.

June 21*st*.—The heat of this last month has been quite exceptional, the thermometer constantly rising to 84°. Went to the Palace to present to the Queen my brother, who kissed hands on his appointment as Minister at Berne.

June 23*rd*.—The pestilential smell from the Thames is become intolerable, and there has been a question of changing the locality of Parliament. Nothing can be done during this heat. Great dinner at the Mansion House. The person most cheered was Sir Archibald Wilson, who took Delhi. The Lord Mayor, by mistake, mentioned him as Sir *Alexander* Wilson, the *defender* of Delhi. There was a general laugh, which greatly surprised him. Pélissier made a very good speech, which was loudly cheered, to his evident delight. I hear he prides himself upon his public speaking.

June 26*th*.—Our Government had large majorities last night on the India Bill in the Commons. Lord Palmerston

moved an amendment fixing the number of the Council at not more than twelve, which was rejected by a majority of 62. He then moved that all the members of the Council should be appointed by the Queen. This was opposed by Disraeli, and negatived by 93.

June 27th.—I dined at the Palace. The Queen expressed a wish that I should attend her to Germany, but was quite aware of the difficulty of my absenting myself from London whilst the Paris Conferences were going on. Her Majesty will probably take me to Cherbourg, where she has decided to go, and also Sir John Pakington.

We have ordered large quantities of lime to be thrown into the Thames, for no works can be begun until the hot weather is over. The stench is perfectly intolerable; although Madame Ristori, coming back one night from a dinner at Greenwich given by Lord Hardwicke, sniffed the air with delight, saying it reminded her of her 'dear Venice.'

July 1st.—Lord Lucan's bill for admitting the Jews to Parliament passed the House of Lords by a majority of 46. Almost all our party voted against it, many Peers actually holding office having done so. An amendment to a clause in the India Bill by Mr. Vernon Smith was negatived by 146 to 71. The same fate attended two by Sir James Graham and Mr. Gladstone. The clause disqualifying members of the Council of India from sitting in Parliament was discussed at great length and carried. I expect that the bill will pass the Commons, and be brought to the House of Lords without opposition.

July 2nd.—Dined at the Palace. The King of the Belgians

and Duke and Duchess of Brabant were present. A few people were asked in the evening, which made enough for one large quadrille. The Queen danced every quadrille, and seemed to enjoy herself thoroughly. The Church Rates Bill was thrown out by a majority of 151.

July 4th.—I have settled to accompany the Queen to Coblentz. She wishes me to go, and so does the Government.

July 12th.—The Queen has written to me to say that I must go to Cherbourg with her on board the royal yacht. Pélissier and Sir John Pakington go in one of the ships of the squadron. Sir John is not at all pleased at having Pélissier put under his charge, as he meant to take Lady Pakington and a large party of friends and relations on board the ship, meaning to turn a great national ceremony into a Worcestershire picnic. Pélissier's presence will interfere with this arrangement.

From Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: July 13, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—The flag of the Principalities is entirely in your hands. I am sorry you have had such a trial of patience and temper. Stratford is going to Stamboul to take leave of the Sultan. His visit is strictly complimentary, and his written orders are not to interfere with Bulwer in any way. He will take the opportunity, if he finds one, to urge on the Sultan the observance of the Hatti, but his mission is strictly confined to one of compliment. He goes in August. Pray inform Fuad of this, and the French Government. There is a *nasty* article in the 'Times' to-day about Cherbourg. I depend upon seeing you there on the 4th, and I hope Walewski.

Yours sincerely,
MALMESBURY.

July 15*th.*—Lady Louisa Hamilton had a bad accident riding in the Park, her horse running away, leaping the iron rails and falling with her on the other side. She was picked up senseless, but is not seriously hurt. Lord Ellenborough made a violent speech against the India Bill. There was no division. The unusual heat of the weather continues.

July 24*th.*—The Ministerial fish-dinner took place to-day at Greenwich. I went down with Lord Hardwicke. Lord Derby having at the fish-dinner to propose 'Sir John Pakington and the Navy,' alluding to Sir John having received the 'wooden spoon' which is given to the Minister in the House of Commons who has been in the fewest divisions, proposed 'Sir John Pakington and the Wooden Spoons of Old England.' This created much laughter from all but Pakington himself. Sir John Pakington is, however, no shirker of work, and has always been ready to direct the most important departments, such as the Colonies and the Admiralty. He is a very young man of his age, both in activity and appearance. A slight figure, he is generally to be seen on horseback, and always with spurs and dapperly dressed. I remember once his keeping us all waiting at a Cabinet Council. When at last he appeared, Lord Derby said, 'We have been waiting for you, Sir John.' 'I am sorry, my Lord, but I was at Spithead.' 'Then,' said Lord Derby, 'I'll be bound there never was such a *swell* there before.'

July 30*th.*—I returned from Osborne. The Queen much pleased at the Lords' amendment to the India Bill relating to competitive examination having passed the Commons by a large majority, as it trenched on her prerogative.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Heron Court: July 30, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—I send you back the *projet de convention* for the Principalities, and wish you joy of having ended this work. I have made some observations where I did not think the meaning clear in the text, and I send an elaborate review by Hammond Bergne, our clever little treaty clerk, who seems satisfied with the *rédaction* on the whole. Pray make one more attempt before we go to Cherbourg to persuade Walewski not to publish the fact that the Conference was divided as to Union. It is only holding up discontent for the future and proclaiming that France was beaten, *à quoi bon?* The questions we must treat at Cherbourg are:—1st. This, if not agreed to before. 2nd. Naples. 3rd. Plan for settling mode of verifying flags. If I cannot get through my political conversations by Friday, the Queen has given me leave to stay after she is gone. I go from here to Osborne to-morrow for a Council.

Yours sincerely,
MALMESBURY.

August 1st.—On the 30th Disraeli stated in the House of Commons the nature of the Lords' amendment to the India Bill, and it was agreed to by 98 to 53.

August 4th.—I went to see Mr. Rarey's establishment. We had 'Cruiser,' the untameable stallion, and a zebra shown us as being quite tame. The former certainly appeared to be so completely; he followed Mr. Rarey wherever he went, without being led, and gave him his foot like a dog. Mr. Rarey then put his cap into his mouth; 'Cruiser' took it but let it drop immediately, when Mr. Rarey took it up and offered it again, upon which 'Cruiser' gave a shriek of rage, but took up the cap. The zebra is less tame, but walked, led by Mr. Rarey, who, however, did not dare let him loose. We afterwards saw two horses thrown, and it is curious how convinced they are that they cannot get up without Mr. Rarey's help. Went to Osborne. Sailed for Cherbourg.

August 5th.—It blew hard in the night, but subsided towards morning. The Queen not ill. The approach to Cherbourg very fine. Arrived there at seven P.M. At eight the Emperor and Empress came on board the Royal yacht without any suite. Nobody was admitted. Marshal Pélissier, who went in without invitation, was immediately turned out by the Emperor. Next morning, the Queen, Prince Albert, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cambridge, Sir John Pakington, and myself, breakfasted at the Préfecture. After which, the Royal personages drove over the town. I took a walk with Mr. Hammond, the consul. Returned to the Royal yacht, and accompanied the Queen to dinner on board the 'Bretagne.' Among the officers at dinner was General MacMahon.[1] Next morning, the Emperor came to take leave of the Queen. When the Emperor left the Queen's yacht the previous evening, all our ships illuminated in the most brilliant manner with blue lights. The yacht had red, white, and blue, and the electric light was thrown on the Emperor's barge, following it the whole way to the harbour. The effect was beautiful: the light shining only on the barge, whilst all around remained in darkness. Nothing could be finer than the whole display; and the Emperor was friendly in his manner; but both he and the Empress could not digest some articles in the 'Times' which had been offensive, especially against her, and it was in vain that I tried to make them understand what freedom the Press had in England, and how independent it was of all private and most public men.

An absurd occurrence took place when Sir John Pakington, as First Lord of the Admiralty, landed Lord Hardwicke and Admiral Dundas in his barge. As he steered her, he kept time with the men as he would if he had been

[1] Afterwards Duke of Magenta and President of the French Republic.

rowing on the Thames, bending his body backwards and forwards, and as he approached the pier, not having given the order of 'Way enough,' the boat with her whole force struck the mole, and the two Admirals and the whole crew fell sprawling on their backs. The rage of the two former after recovering themselves was vented with uncontrolled expressions on the unfortunate First Lord, amidst the laughter of the spectators who were standing on the pier.

From Lord M. to Count Walewski.

Londres: ce 8 août, 1858.

Mon cher Walewski,—Avant de partir pour l'Allemagne, je ne puis me refuser le plaisir de vous exprimer la vive satisfaction avec laquelle la Reine a vu sa noble et amicale réception à Cherbourg. Tous les nôtres en ont été enchantés, et rien ne peut être meilleur que l'esprit public de ce côté de la Manche. J'ai beaucoup regretté de ne pas vous avoir revu Vendredi matin à bord du yacht. J'ai dit quelques mots à l'Empereur au sujet des Protocoles des Conférences. Je vous avoue que je trouve leur publication très-inutile, si ce n'est pour démontrer et établir à tout jamais les différences d'opinion entre les Puissances, et pour qu'un jour nous puissions avoir le triste privilège de nous faire mutuellement des reproches inutiles. Ceci est surtout important à l'endroit des Principalités. Passons en Chine: les dernières nouvelles promettent bien, et il est possible que les Chinois admettent des Ambassadeurs européens à Pékin. Il me semble pourtant que ce serait mieux de les établir à quelque autre ville du Nord plus près de la côte. Ils seraient dans une souricière à Pékin si les Chinois voulaient nous jouer un tour. Je vous prie de ne pas oublier notre conversation sur les Consuls de l'Orient et de leur faire comprendre qu'ils ne doivent pas se regarder en antagonistes, et surtout qu'ils sont assujettis aux ordres des Ambassadeurs à Constantinople. Finalement, ne prenons jamais de grandes mesures sans nous entendre et nous mettre autant que possible d'accord. Voilà ma politique.

MALMESBURY.

August 10th.—I went down to Basingstoke to meet the Queen and Prince and their suite, and to embark at Graves-

end for Antwerp on our way to Berlin. The suite consisted of Sir Charles Phipps, Lady Macdonald, and Miss Cavendish. I brought with me my two secretaries, Bidwell and Dashwood. The weather was tremendously hot.

I was relegated with Lord Bloomfield, our Ambassador at Berlin; the two ladies and Phipps in the second carriage, the Prince and Queen travelling alone. After going through Düsseldorf, Hanover, and Brunswick, we of the suite arrived at Potsdam on August 14, too late for the supper which had been prepared.

The Queen came the next morning, which obliged me to attend a great luncheon at the Palace. My two secretaries have been invited to everything given here (Potsdam). I have dined every day at Babelsberg, a beautiful palace a few miles out of Potsdam, with the Queen and the Prussian Court. Babelsberg is four miles from Potsdam. I used to drive there with Lord Bloomfield, our Ambassador, and the Court ladies. Three of these were handsome, especially the Countess Hohenthal, a Maid of Honour, a beautiful girl, and clever.[1] Two others were Countess Lynar and Countess Oriola, a Portuguese, and a very attractive woman.

One day there was a great review of the Prussian Guard. I was very well mounted on a quiet charger, and also on another occasion I rode a perfect mare with the ladies Hohenthal and Oriola; but we were reproved by Count Perponcher, the Master of the Horse, for riding too fast, as he would have kept us at a walk.

Lord Bloomfield, who was very amiable to me and my secretaries, received, at my request, the G.C.B. from Her Majesty. He was a great disciplinarian as to our dress,

[1] Afterwards Lady Paget, and now Ambassadress at Vienna.

and much moved at my not having a blue dress coat with brass buttons to go to church in. He is much and deservedly liked at Berlin.

I had very little political work here, but heard a great deal about the Schleswig treaty, which Palmerston drew up, and which I signed in 1852. It is evident that on the first opportunity Prussia will seize and annex it either by force or by some transaction, which will be a high-handed and unjustifiable act, inasmuch as the Schleswigers hate the Prussians, and they do not speak the same tongue. One day I had the opportunity of a private conversation with the Neapolitan Minister, and I took the occasion to make a strong intercession in favour of Poerio, the famous political prisoner, of whose treatment such horrors were related, and I obtained a promise that he (the Minister) would do all he could to obtain his liberty, on the ground that he gave his Government more trouble in prison than he would out of it, which fact I had pressed upon him. He afterwards redeemed his promise, and Poerio was released, and sailed on condition that he should go to America, and not to Europe; but he and his fellow-prisoners bribed the captain to bring them to England, where I saw him in the House of Lords, a very sleek and healthy-looking man, just like his statue now in the Via Toledo at Naples.

Poerio's treatment had been for some years the subject of angry dispute between the English Liberal Governments and that of Naples; but Palmerston and Gladstone made the mistake of arguing with a despotic Government the right of the case, as if an absolute *régime* had not the same privilege as a Republic, or ourselves, of self-defence against those who would overturn it. The police at Naples was corrupt and tyrannical; but the worst feature of all in their system was the delay of justice, as we found in all cases

where Englishmen were concerned. The accused party was often imprisoned for years before he was tried, and this was the fate of Poerio; but the physical torture, to which he was said to be subjected, I believe to be apocryphal. No man who had suffered such could so far have recovered in three months and be so fat and sleek as he was when Lord Shaftesbury introduced him to me in the House of Lords. I took him, as he stood at the throne, for one of the new Peers, come up rejoicing from a salubrious county. Some years after these events, the Marquis d'Azeglio told me that a subscription had been raised among the principal Whigs to procure Poerio's evasion through Garibaldi, who was to have a ship ready to carry him off, but his release anticipated their plan. Rightly or wrongly, Bomba had such a bad name that all things were looked upon as fair against him; but, *minus* this feeling, it was a strong measure on the part of a neutral country and its leading statesmen. The days of Queen Elizabeth had returned in Italy, which felt justified in using the sword and the intelligence of the great buccaneer Garibaldi against her enemies, as England did those of Drake and Raleigh, whom the Spaniards not unfairly called pirates. The French have coined a new word for such unorthodox politics—namely, 'Opportunism.'

August 28th.—Arrived at Deutz on our way home. The weather throughout our journey has been tropical. Fahrenheit 83° at night for a week. The Queen graciously allowed me to leave here and to go to Achnacarry. Phipps came to me before I left, much annoyed at having given one of the best snuff-boxes to ——, which was not intended for him. He went to —— to explain this, but found that the box was already converted into cash, and irrecoverable.

September 3rd.—Joined Lady Malmesbury at Achnacarry, after a very bad passage across the Channel, the sea breaking heavily over the boat. So ill, I could not have walked to the hotel without the help of the popular Captain Smithett.

The time passed at Achnacarry as usual, in fishing, shooting, and receiving a great deal of company, among whom were Lord Durham, Mr. and Lady Hermione Graham, George Barrington, the Delameres, the Wiltons, Mr. and Mrs. Rose, Mr. Bruce (Lord Elgin's brother), who was just returned from China with a treaty, Lord and Lady Abercorn, the Duke and beautiful Duchess of Manchester, who was Mistress of the Robes.

From Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Achnacarry: September 4, 1858.

My dear Cowley,— . . . . . There never was such a hash as between Bulwer and Stratford about their palaces. Stratford has taken out *six gentlemen* as attachés, but not one do I know by name, and not one has had his appointment signed, so they will have no *status* at all! Lady S. has ordered the house at Therapia to be prepared for her, and Lord S. the one at Pera, so that Bulwer will have to go to the Inn. It is his fault, for in the overflowing joy of his nomination he wrote in May to offer him either palace, *á la disposicion de Vd.!*

Yours sincerely,

MALMESBURY.

From the same to the same.

Achnacarry: September 7, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—Pray show Palmerston the Principalities Reform Bill, and tell him I hope ours next year will be better. All the good in it is yours—*mais, que voulez-vous* when a Frenchman who has trampled down the constitution of his own country begins to make one for others? You may also show him my despatches on our Turkish policy and on Montenegro. I have only followed in his wake.

Yours sincerely,

MALMESBURY.

September 16*th.*—The largest comet I ever saw became visible, with a very broad tail spread perpendicularly over the sky, the weather being very hot. Everyone now believes in war.

September 25*th.*—Mr. Bruce took his first lesson in deer-stalking, and came back in a very bad humour. He says that the forester wanted him to go *up a waterfall,* which created much laughter. The Persignys arrived after midnight. They had posted from Inverness in dogcarts and various vehicles.

September 26*th.*—Madame de Persigny has been horribly out of humour all day. She never spoke a word at dinner, and will not answer when spoken to. She is said to be always so whenever there is a woman in the house handsomer than herself, which in this case is the Duchess of Manchester.

September 28*th.*—Madame de P. came down in a dreadful humour to breakfast, and would speak to no one. Persigny told her to sit by me, when she said, stamping her foot, 'Je ne veux pas,' loud enough for everyone to hear. Poor Persigny looked much annoyed, saying to her, 'Je vous ordonne de parler,' which order was not obeyed. Her temper relapsed again at luncheon, and afterwards she had a severe shock when, Colonel Scarlett having called, she saw his fly drive up, and—Heaven knows why—fancied that Persigny, who had gone to the forest, had met with an accident. She burst into tears. No one could understand what connection there could be between 'Mon petit Victor' and a fly, and how she could imagine, if an accident had happened, that two men in a carriage, with a pair of post-horses, could be

sent down from the highest hill in the forest to announce it. Mr. Bidwell said she evidently thought there was a cab-stand on the top of Corry Dhu. When she came down to dinner, she appeared with her eyes very red, and before the fish was taken away rushed out of the room in a flood of tears. Persigny followed, and neither returned until the end of the first course, when they resumed their places, she looking like a sulky child, and he the picture of misery. These scenes are repeated daily.

From Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Achnacarry: September 28, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—Pélissier has written to ask me my opinion as to the danger to Mexico of American annexation. I have answered him that I look upon it as probable, and not at all dangerous to European interests. Trade would be improved, and the Union certainly broken up. The Yankees know this fact so well that they hesitate to touch it. Otway says Mexico is ready to give herself up to be governed by us or France. The latter would not suit us in the rear of our West India Islands and commanding the Gulf; as little would it be to our interest to meddle with such a hornets' nest. We had better leave it to its fate, taking care of our subjects. What is of great importance is that France should join in securing a passage for herself over Nicaragua, and thus act in unison with us on this critical point.

Yours sincerely,

MALMESBURY.

September 30th.—The Persignys started for Glasgow. Such a relief to everybody in the house to hear the carriage drive off.

October 3rd.—Hearing that Sir James Hudson, our Minister at Turin, was at Fort William, we sent a gillie to invite him. He was in bed when the messenger arrived, but in such a bad one that he was too glad to get up again, and arrived at Achnacarry at eleven o'clock.

From Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Achnacarry: October 3, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—Pray ascertain the views of the French Government on the state of the Danish question. Elliot is much alarmed. The violent German party have taken advantage of my presence at Berlin to circulate false reports of conversations which I had with Platen at Hanover, and the Prince of Prussia and Manteuffel, to the effect that we should not interfere if the question were extended to Schleswig. Now, what I said to one and all of these persons was that Her Majesty's Government considered the Holstein question as purely German, and amenable to the Diet, the King being Duke of Holstein, and that our only feeling was an apprehension that an occupation of Holstein by German troops would break up European peace. As to Schleswig, that if that point was ever unfortunately mooted, we and the other Powers who contracted the treaty must settle it, as the Diet had no business with Schleswig. Her Majesty's Government think that this last proposal of the Danes deserves every consideration, and ought to lead to negotiation. Pray state this to the French Government, and ask them what their policy is under the contingencies referred to. Elliot thinks Prussia is joining Hanover in pushing the Diet to extremities. Paget says, if so, it is in direct contradiction of Manteuffel's language.

Yours sincerely,
MALMESBURY.

October 4th.—Beautiful bright morning. The whole party went up Loch Arkaig for a deer-drive in the Forest of Gerraran. By the time we got there, about ten miles off, the weather changed, and it blew a hurricane with torrents of rain, so we were obliged to return in the boat with a favourable wind. This, however, increased to such violence that the surface of the loch was torn up by waterspouts and very heavy seas. The wind suddenly changing, we had to keep her head to it. The Highlanders were panic-stricken, and stopped pulling, when Sir James Hudson seized an oar and encouraged the men to renew their efforts. For some time

it was impossible to make way against the storm, and all we could do was to keep her head to the sea. By desperate efforts we got into a small bay in shelter. The ladies behaved beautifully, and did not say a word; but the position was very critical, as, if the gentlemen and crew had failed, we must have been swamped. Bidwell, I conclude, was rather frightened, for at the worst moment he began to sing, which displeased the Highlanders, who are very superstitious. If we had gone down, there would have been considerable patronage for Lord Derby—namely, Duchess of Manchester, Mistress of the Robes; myself, Foreign Secretary, with two private secretaries, Bidwell and Dashwood; Sir James Hudson, Minister at Turin; and Mr. Hammond, Consul at Cherbourg. I never saw anything more striking than the columns of water which, driven up by the wind, crossed the lake in all directions, and which, if striking the boat, would have filled her at once.

October 7th.—The Duke and Duchess of Manchester left. She was very amiable, and is at the climax of her beauty, and we all regret her much. The mountains are covered with snow.

October 14th.—We left Achnacarry, and got as far as the King's House in Glencoe.

From Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Achnacarry: October 14, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—What passed at Berlin with Massone, the Neapolitan, was this: Manteuffel and Paget told me he wished to be introduced and speak on our quarrel with Naples. I agreed to do so in a private character, and met him at Bloomfield's. He said his Government was anxious to renew. I stated that we could not act without France, and that I thought that, if Naples would give her

the *forms* she wished, and us the *substance*, which we must insist upon, it might be done. *Q.* What was the substance? *A.* The basis of the proposal made eighteen months ago to Clarendon, which he would have taken, but the implacable Palmerston refused —namely, that the prisoners should be provided for and sent to Buenos Ayres or Monte Video. I said that if these people were delivered in some analogous manner, without exacting any confession or pledge, provided for temporarily, and exiled, we might come to some understanding. Massone jumped at the notion, and I suppose this will again be the basis on which they will start the negotiation of which Paget speaks. Now just look at the incongruous position of England at this moment and of its Government, upon this question. England rose as one man last February because France was supposed, notwithstanding her assurances to the contrary, to interfere with *our internal jurisdiction*, and here she is quarrelling with Naples because Naples won't alter her laws at the beck of our Government!

Yours sincerely,
MALMESBURY.

October 15th.—Went on, and arrived at Glasgow. Our party had killed 30 stags, of which I got but few, as I was obliged to attend to my official business. Sir James Hudson shot several, being a first-rate rifle-shot and sportsman.

From Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Knowsley: October 22, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—Massone deceived Paget.[1] Bernstorff arrived yesterday, and stated that he was instructed to say that the King of Naples would not reopen the negotiations, which Clarendon unfortunately refused, for the release of the prisoners; that he would have no interference with his affairs; and that all he would do would be to send a Minister to London and Paris, if we would reciprocate. I of course said that, this being the case, I preferred the *status quo*. Bernstorff added that the King was in reality delighted at there being nobody at Naples to bother him, as the French and English Ministers always did. Yours sincerely,

MALMESBURY.

[1] On the contrary, he kept his word.

October 23rd.—I went to Knowsley, and found there such a heap of Foreign Office boxes that I was obliged to stay at home two days to work instead of shooting. Lord Derby in great force.

October 24th.—The Duke of Hamilton told me that when he was at Paris a few days ago the Empress observed that she thought she had made a mess of the Malakoff marriage, and that when she saw his white head and her black one at the altar she feared it would not turn out well. The Duc de Malakoff called upon me to-day, and did not look happy. Sidney Herbert is very ill, and so is Lady Clementina Villiers, with intermittent fever. She is reduced to great weakness.

October 25th.—We have received an invitation to Windsor, where Lady Malmesbury is to present the Duchesse de Malakoff.

October 26th.—Duc and Duchesse de Malakoff called. She is a Spaniard, pretty, with a very fine figure, and extremely graceful, with pleasing manners. Looks about twenty-six.

From Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

London: October 26, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—I send you the report of Saunders to show what a *canard* Walewski and the Emperor swallowed in believing that Bernard advocated openly the murder of the Empress and her child. It is bad enough without that, but I see there is a party, and its name is Legion (for it is composed of every party and some Governments) striving to drive England and France into a war. This Portuguese business [1] proves to me that the Emperor has lost all his sense of right and prudence, and is acting on passion. I am not sure even that the transaction was not meant to lower *us* on the sore point of the Slave Trade. If Lisbon is like Lavradio, it will

[1] The capture of the 'Charles et Georges.'

scream loud enough to raise a storm from the Tagus to the Neva. A complete plan for the invasion of England by Admiral de la Gravière, made in 1857, is in my possession. It is satisfactory to know that they only meant to stay a week, and to be nearly sure that not a man would have returned. The Emperor *does not wish for a reconciliation* with Naples, and is glad to annoy Austria by this Italian distress. Stratford has upset everything at Stamboul, but I think that may be set right. Our Consul McLeod has, I hear, come home open-mouthed from Mozambique, glorying in having, by his own suggestion, effected the capture of the 'Charles et Georges,' which but for him, he says, never would have been touched. He then ran away home from the row he had raised.

Yours truly,
MALMESBURY.

October 27th.—Went to Windsor with the Malakoffs, who came to our room soon after we had arrived, and remained till six o'clock, the hour fixed for the Duchesse to be presented. The ladies waited in the gallery whilst I had an audience; after which, I came to fetch the Duke, who had a book to present to the Queen from the Emperor. Then Lady Malmesbury went in to present the Duchesse, and left her with the Queen.

October 28th.—Had a long conversation with the Prince, who came to my room. Prince Arthur[1] performed on the drum for the edification of Pélissier, who exhibited his own talents in that line so well that he must have begun his career as a drummer. He certainly rose from the ranks. His Christian name is, as he says himself, most inappropriate—'Aimable.' He is a short, fat man, of rough manners, but good-hearted withal. He related to me, and I believe also to the Queen, the following anecdote. After Waterloo, a great part of the French army was disbanded, Pélissier among them. He went home on foot, somewhere

[1] Afterwards Duke of Connaught.

in the South of France, at a time when the whole country was flooded and crossed by narrow plank bridges. In approaching one of these, he saw he must meet a Prussian soldier, and both got on the bridge, neither giving way, when Pélissier pushed him into the river, and, as the man rose, hit him on the head with his stick, saying, with a descriptive gesture, 'Je l'ai frappé comme ça, et il n'a plus reparu.' As a contrast to this brutal act, he formed such a romantic affection for his fellow-soldier, Lord Raglan, that, after the death of the latter, he used, when Ambassador in London, to go constantly to see Lord Raglan's little grandson, and play with him. He once struck one of his soldiers for some offence, which is not permitted in the French army, upon which the man aimed at him, but his musket missed fire. 'Maintenant,' said Pélissier, perfectly unmoved, 'je vous donne dix jours de salle pour des armes mal-tenues.'

October 29th.—The Malakoffs, who had intended returning to London, put off their departure to go with us. I went out shooting with the Prince at 9.30, and returned at half-past twelve, as I had several presentations to the Queen to make at one. We returned to London after luncheon.

November 3rd.—First Cabinet Council took place to-day. All the Ministers attended. Lord Derby in great spirits; but I think we shall have a stormy session, and probably be turned out about May. Intrigues go on apace.

To Lord Cowley.

London: November 3, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—Lavradio is holding insane language here, saying to me, and afterwards to Hammond during my absence, that we had deserted Portugal. I have telegraphed to Howard to

ask the Portuguese Government if their Minister is instructed to talk in this way. I hope you will urge on Walewski the expediency of dropping the demand for indemnity, because, whether pirate or orthodox, the 'Charles et Georges' did break the municipal law of Mozambique. Pray tell the Empress that we like the Duchesse de Malakoff extremely. Lady Malmesbury and she have made great friends, and really she is to be pitied, looking so lonely in that uncomfortable house, gutted as it is of all ornament.

Yours truly,
MALMESBURY.

November 12*th.*—Lord De la Warr called. He was at Blair with the Persignys, and says she behaved very strangely, crying and making scenes. She asked to see a deer-drive, and when she was posted with the Duke of Athole, and the deer were coming towards them, she was suddenly seized with a terror of the guns, burst into tears, exclaiming, 'Je serai tuée! O mes pauvres enfants!' and insisted upon going home. The Duke at first thought she was joking; but seeing her get pale and cry bitterly, he promised not to fire. Fortunately, the deer went another way, but she did not recover, and remained quite sulky the rest of the day. Such is the grand-daughter of Marshal Ney!—sent here as an Ambassadress. I went to Windsor to present Lord Bloomfield and Sir James Hudson.

November 13*th.*—Returned from Windsor with the Prince of Wales, who invited me into his carriage, after a long audience with the Queen. He was very agreeable.

November 14*th.*—Went to Kimbolton. The Malakoffs there. They joined in a paper-chase with great spirit.

November 19*th.*—Lord Derby has sent Mr. Gladstone to the Ionian Islands as Commissioner, to report upon the state of the islands.

November 20*th.*—I hear that Lords Palmerston and Clarendon now think they have done a foolish thing by going to Compiègne, and that their doing so is generally disapproved in England.

November 21*st.*—Lord Clarendon lunched with us, and stayed an hour and a half with me talking about the Emperor. He only returned from Compiègne this morning, and told us that the whole party went out hunting on a very wet day, all being muffled up in waterproofs, except Palmerston, who wore a red coat and nothing over it. The Emperor observed that he would get wet, when he replied, 'Rien ne perce un habit rouge.' Lady Mary Craven was immensely admired. The Empress and Madame Walewska were loud in their admiration of her, but towards the end of the week they had very much cooled. Lord Clarendon said they prevented the Duchess of Manchester from being asked. He also told me there is an intrigue going on to get rid of Walewski, the principal conspirators being Prince Napoleon and Persigny.

November 22*nd.*—I got a dreadful account of Lady Clementina Villiers from Lady Jersey. She is much worse, and I now despair of her recovery. I fear she is sinking fast. I am very unhappy, as she is my greatest friend, and I always spent two or three evenings every week at Lady Jersey's, and found everybody there whom I know and like.

November 24*th.*—Lady Clementina continues very ill; the fever has lasted three months, and she cannot have strength to resist it much longer. Poor Lady Jersey is nearly distracted. Lord Ranelagh called, and seems much alarmed at the state of the defences at Portsmouth. But they are being strengthened at a vast expense.

December 2nd.—Went to Middleton yesterday. Lady Jersey proposed that I should see Lady Clementina, but, having heard that she was painfully changed, I would not do so, and only talked to her through her door. She wished me good-bye. She is constantly fainting, and kept up by champagne.

December 3rd.—Cabinet Councils almost every day on the subject of the Reform Bill, but I have little expectation of the Government producing a measure that will satisfy either themselves or the public. To-day Lord Derby was beaten on one point which he considered most important, Lord John Manners and I being the only Cabinet Ministers who stood by him. Disraeli, Stanley, Pakington, Lords Salisbury and Lytton[1] voted for the most liberal of the three propositions submitted; the Chancellor (Chelmsford), Walpole, Henley, Hardwicke, and General Peel for the most Conservative, so nothing was done.

December 6th.—Lady Clementina died yesterday. She gradually sank, and died so calmly that her mother, who held her hand, was not aware she was dead until she felt it grow cold.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: December 13, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—We have been to see the infernal machine! which is openly shown at the shop, not as an 'infernal machine,' but as a twenty-barrelled gun upon wheels—the most harmless and useless thing you ever saw. The best of the story is that, as the showman is *Palmerston's bootmaker*, he has been one of the first to examine it. It would do for firing into a flock of duck—provided the ducks, the machine, and the shooter were all *d'accord*. What fools the French police here must be!

[1] The late Lords Salisbury and Lytton.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: December 13, 1858.

My dear Cowley,—Apponyi came to me this morning to read a despatch from Buol to Hübner about Italy. It began by finding fault with the French press and lamenting its effects as between Austria and France, and it stated that the treaties of 1815 were as sacred as those of 1856; that in 1815 the *Italian* question was settled and could not be reopened; that in 1856 the Turkish was settled; that Austria would insist on both being respected, and that no exchange, no cession, and no negotiation would be granted by her for any part of her Italian dominions. This led to a conversation, in which I repeated exactly the same views as those given to you in my private letter on the subject. Apponyi agreed with me, but thought France would never act fairly, but looked to convulsions by which Piedmont would get Lombardy, France Savoy, and Murat Naples.

December 15*th*.—I received a grateful letter from Augustus Paget, whom I have appointed Minister at Dresden.

December 31*st*.—I left this morning for Windsor from Heron Court. Mrs. Anson is dead, from taking by mistake an over-dose of laudanum. They kept her walking about for several hours, but in vain. One of the handsomest women of her day.

1859

January 1*st*.—Yesterday we danced at Windsor, and when the clock struck twelve all the Royalties embraced. I had the honour of dancing a country dance with Her Majesty.

January 2*nd*.—Returned to Heron Court.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Heron Court: January 7, 1859.

My dear Cowley,—I will send you a very important paper in a few days (the Queen must approve of my reply first), which I have got from Bloomfield, asking me on the part of the Prussian Government what we mean to do if Austria and France go to war. I have answered; neutrality at all events, and as long as possible. We are ready, if Austria and France choose to join, to improve the Legations, to give our moral support, and even to consider a reconstruction of the *Central* territory if we see hopes of improving the condition of the people without weakening the spiritual authority of the Pope; but we will not consent beyond this to any alterations in the territorial arrangements of 1815, which have ensured the longest peace on record.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: January 11, 1859.

My dear Cowley,—You will see that we have taken a line, and I leave you to carry it out with your usual straightforward exactness. If the Emperor cares for the public opinion of this country, he must be made to understand that it will be against the aggressor, whoever he may be, who is the first cause of a European war. That it will cost him his life or his crown I have not the least doubt. Eventually, as it spreads, Germany is sure to be found united against the Latin nations, therefore it is as a friend I wish to warn him before he decides at his age and in his position on such a *coup de dés*. Persigny went back yesterday to intrigue against Walewski and Her Majesty's present Government. I conclude the Buol escapade is over. Pélissier, as usual, approved of my conduct, and is disgusted at being kept in the dark as to everything that is going on at Paris. The Russians are trying to get ports in Spain, Sicily, and Egypt, like Villafranca—that is, military ports. You should ask Walewski quietly how that suits France? It is very well known Russia is with her, but does she wish to have her a maritime Power in the Mediterranean? The Russians boast that we have overreached ourselves because she was blocked up at both ends before for nine months, and at one end all the year, while now she

can keep a fleet all the year round in the Mediterranean. When the Emperor pretended to Clarendon that he did not know where Villafranca was, it was clearly a *comédie*. Of course you will see the Emperor himself, and give all the solemnity you can to the advice, leaving all the consequences and calamities of a European war on his head if he begins, or *allows Sardinia to begin*.

January 12th.—The King of Sardinia has made a speech which can only mean war. Things look bad all over Europe, and it will be very difficult to avert a general war if Louis Napoleon wants one. Great panic in Paris, and war very unpopular. The Emperor is getting alarmed at the feeling in France and the extraordinary fall in the funds; also at the unpopularity of the marriage arranged between Prince Napoleon and the King of Sardinia's daughter. Lord Cowley writes that he was much depressed at his ball; but I believe it is his fear of assassination, which haunts him perpetually, and has robbed him of all his former courage and coolness. It is driving him on to war, thinking that by supporting the cause of Italian nationality he will disarm those men who, in his earlier days, were his confederates in Carbonarism, and to whom he is pledged by former promises, and perhaps oaths. Cavour, knowing these facts, works upon them to induce him to take part openly with Sardinia. Austria is behaving with a folly which is perfectly inconceivable considering her position surrounded by enemies on all the frontiers. But what can one expect from Buol? I care for neither Austria nor France, but Lord Derby and I are determined to use every effort to prevent war, which would cost 100,000 lives and desolate the fairest parts of Europe. My whole mind is occupied by that object.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: January 15, 1859.

My dear Cowley,—We are extremely obliged to you for keeping us so well *au fait* of everything at this critical moment. I hope and believe that Walewski knows he is not the man for a War Minister, and this will keep him in his pacific path. I am very glad you liked my *great* despatch, and I hope you will approve of the one I wrote Hudson, which was as strong as I thought it prudent to write at first. Your offer to submit your views to Palmerston is a patriotic one, and, if he receives it as I do, it will be to thank you. The great duty of every honest man must be to prevent the scourge which two or three unprincipled men would inflict on mankind for their personal profit; though, as to that, I believe a war would sweep them from their high places. Laffitte was with me on Thursday. He is here to borrow 2,000,000*l.* for Cavour, and cannot get 2,000*l.*, ditto Austria. Laffitte speaks of Cavour as a desperate adventurer, who has ruined his country by his expenses. He says he is ready to go anywhere for a sum to cover his financial bungling, and that if he does not have a war he will be turned out on his Budget. He works the Orsini gang by saying, 'Don't be such fools as to kill the only man who can help Italy, but frighten him into it.' Hence the continual terror agitated around the Emperor, about which Bernard's publication respecting the great *canardière* at Palmerston's bootmaker's, and his rhodomontade speech, is a specimen. Tell Walewski this. It is an abominable *trame*. We are really forming no Anti-French League beyond begging the Germans to remain united and independent of external politics until obliged to take a part.

Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

January 16th.—I fear war cannot be avoided. The Emperor of the French seems determined, though his country is strongly against it; but I hope he will be induced to pause, especially as he finds he cannot draw England into taking his part. Lord Cowley says the Emperor avoided talking to him at the last ball. The Queen and Prince are very anxious, and the latter has written to me. The Emperor threatens

Belgium if she does not go with France. The Prince de Chimay is evidently for the French alliance.

January 18th.—Pélissier called and told me that fears of war were at an end, as France was against it. It is, however, quite clear the Emperor has done all he could to stir it up, notwithstanding his former declaration, 'L'Empire c'est la paix!'

January 19th.—Went to Windsor, and returned to-day with Disraeli.

January 23rd.—Lord Cowley telegraphs that Persigny is to come here directly as Ambassador. This was arranged at Compiègne whilst Lord Palmerston was there, and is a most hostile move on the part of the Emperor, as he knows perfectly well the terms Persigny and I are upon, and the inexcusable behaviour of Madame de Persigny to Lady M. Sending him back again when Parliament is going to meet must be done with a view of intriguing against our Government as he did before.

January 25th.—Lord Cowley writes that he has seen Persigny, who says that the Emperor wishes him to return to England as Ambassador. The next day, Lord Cowley saw Walewski, who told him that Persigny was urging the Emperor to appoint him against his wishes, and he is unable to ascertain which of these accounts is true. The preparations for war continue on all sides. The French Emperor is very hostile to our Administration, and anxious to upset it.

January 26th.—There was a cordial Cabinet to-day on the principal clause of the Reform Bill. Lord Derby much pleased, as he feared dissensions, and even resignations. The

'Morning Post' has received orders from the French Emperor to attack me on every possible occasion. Mr. Borthwick, the editor, saw him at Paris, and got his orders from himself. This paper is also Lord Palmerston's, so the connection between them is clear.

The case of the 'Charles et Georges,' which is a French ship, is that the Portuguese seized her, according to our treaties, for being fitted as a slaver, and took her into the Tagus. The French Government screamed very loudly at this, and, on the other hand, the Portuguese claimed our assistance, as bound by treaties, to resist the French threats. After a great deal of noise on both sides, we arranged the dispute, which, although the Opposition made capital of it, was never more than a storm in a tea-pot.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: January 26, 1859.

My dear Cowley,—I must thank you for the manner in which you have met without any instructions from me the idea on the part of the French Government of sending Persigny here again. I will tell you frankly that when Persigny assured you he only saw Palmerston *once* after he left office, it is entirely untrue. When violently insisting on the necessity and ease of passing the Conspiracy Bill he came out with this: 'J'ai répété à Palmerston plus d'une fois tous vos raisonnements, et il me dit qu'il n'y a pas un mot de vrai dans tout cela.' It was then I told him that I must do all business at Paris through *you*, if he saw our opponents and repeated our conversations to them. Before he left Paris, where he was when Palmerston was turned out, he said to several people that in a week he would put him again in his place by forcing us to pass the same bill. I could add half-a-dozen witnesses to this. For three weeks after he returned I heard of nothing but his violent language against Lord Derby and me in every *salon*, and it was the talk and astonishment of the whole *Corps Diplomatique* to see a French Ambassador holding forth like an electioneering agent. The fact is that, as his master has always been and always will be a conspirator, so he has always been and will always be a partisan of somebody.

These are their idiosyncrasies. Be that as it may, confidence is not an act of volition, and if Persigny came, I should carry on the whole business with *you*. In doing this I should be still more justified by what I know now of the Emperor's sentiments towards our Government. Borthwick, after dinner, told —— that when the other day in Paris the Emperor sent for him, and he never saw a man so irritated as he is against Lord Malmesbury. He said: 'You must write him down; he has leagued Germany against me, and is entirely opposed to my policy. "I have proof of it by his own hand, in which he says that Austria has the same right to Lombardy as England has to Ireland and India."' This quotation leaves no doubt as to Borthwick's veracity, for it is the very phrase which I used in my letter to you of December 7, as you will see. Did you give him a copy of it or read it to him? Since the above orders, the 'Morning Post' attacks me every other day. I have therefore no doubt, and I may say I *know*, that Persigny is meant to restore our ex-Premier; but this country is not Spain, and a Government is not to be upset by a foreign ambassador. . . . . Buol has received our counsels of prudence with nearly equal sulkiness, and I think the best attitude for us now is to fold our arms like men who have advised madmen in vain to refrain from mutual follies, look on as if they thought them mad, and leave them with sorrow to their fate.

Yours truly,
MALMESBURY.

January 27th.—There is a violent and mischievous article in the 'Morning Post,' accusing me of forming a German league against France, showing the Emperor's anger at our opposing his warlike proclivities. The Princess of Prussia was confined this afternoon of a son. The news reached Windsor by telegraph in six minutes.

January 28th.—I went to Windsor to present Lord Lyons and Mr. Paget. Had a long audience. Walpole and Henley have resigned on the Reform Bill; the former because we go too far, the latter because we don't go far enough. Walpole is a conscientious man, and a Tory. Henley very

shrewd and clever, but crotchety and easily offended; he is much looked up to in the House of Commons.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: January 28, 1859.

My dear Cowley,—I cannot but think that your apprehensions will be realised; Hudson thinks so too. Malaret says the public feeling in France against a war is tremendous and most openly expressed. Dare the Emperor face this? I think you had better not tell the Emperor that I know of his conversation with Borthwick. A man never forgives being *found out* in such a treacherous action. It appears he *showed him the extract you gave him of my letter.*

Yours truly,
MALMESBURY.

January 31st.—Mr. Henry Greville called and was very friendly, expressing great interest in our success in keeping off war. He appeared very favourable to our Government; if so, it is an extraordinary change. His brother Charles,[1] who is Clerk of the Council, has never attended since Lord Derby has been in office, and did not conceal his omitting to do so on purpose. When Lord Derby's attention was called to this fact, he said 'he had not observed his absence, as he never knew whether it was John or Thomas who answered the bell.'

February 1st.—Lady Ely told me that the Malakoffs expected to be recalled. Pélissier is not in the confidence of his Court, and knows nothing, not even what concerns himself personally. He is certainly not fond of the Emperor, of whom he never says any good. He told me that the French army was not in a state for a campaign.

February 3rd.—The Queen in person opened Parliament

[1] Author of the well-known memoirs published after his death.

to-day. Crowds larger than usual, the weather being beautiful, and her reception very enthusiastic. Lords Winchilsea and Ravensworth were the mover and seconder. Lord Granville was followed by Lord Derby, who was nervous, and forgot to mention India till I reminded him of it; but when he began on foreign politics, which was evidently the subject uppermost in his mind, nothing could be more dignified or more eloquent. He declared for upholding all the treaties of 1815, spoke very openly against war, and on the responsibility that would be incurred by any sovereign who disturbed the peace of Europe for purposes of aggrandisement or ambition, and announced the firm determination of the English Government to observe perfect neutrality, declaring that we had neither engagements, obligations, treaties, nor understandings which bound us or prevented our following the course we considered best for the honour and interest of England. He was received with great cheering on all sides. It was amusing to watch the faces of Count Corti and Baron Chotek,[1] who were present during Lord Derby's speech, the former looking discomfited and miserable, whilst the latter had an expression of the greatest delight.

February 6th.—I went to Windsor. The Queen has written a letter to Lord Derby insisting upon the Indian army being under the Horse Guards; but as he cannot, or thinks he cannot, get the House of Commons to repeal that part of the India Bill, he has written to say that if she makes it a *sine quâ non* he must resign.

February 7th.—Returned from Windsor. The Queen

[1] Italian and Austrian Secretaries.

and Prince both very gracious and friendly, but much alarmed at the clause in the India Bill relating to the army.

February 8th.—Lord Derby has settled not to *disfranchise*, and Mr. Walpole objects. It is impossible to please him. This last is opposed by Lord Stanley, which makes it the more strange that it should also be opposed by the other. Napoleon's speech is not so pacific as Lord Cowley informed us it would be. Not a word is said about treaties, but a good deal about the interests and honour of France. I have no confidence in peace being preserved. The French Ministers had a hard fight with him to make as moderate a speech as the one he delivered at the opening of the Chambers. Funds are gone down.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: February 8, 1859.

My dear Cowley,—The speech has not been taken so ill here as in Paris, and we all feel, I think, that the Emperor must have had great difficulty in backing out handsomely. That he *should* back out is the great point. 'The treaties'—i.e. of 1815—are the sentence of condemnation of his uncle, and no wonder the words are hot potatoes in his mouth. It is a good thing that he does believe Europe is arrayed against his ambitious dreams. Have you seen the map of Europe for 1860? Here they believe it to be issued by his *permission*. Pray assure Walewski how much Her Majesty's Government appreciate his wise and friendly conduct during the past crisis (if past it is). If we can get a good agreement about the Coolies and the Slave Trade Treaty, of which you gave us hopes, it would do very great good. Your language throughout these difficulties has been most judicious and useful. The Emperor sent me a message by the Duke of Hamilton, expressing his regret for having *shown Borthwick my letter* to you. The Duke says he told him plainly his mind on the subject. The Emperor also reiterated to him assurances of the value he placed on our firm alliance. Buol promises everything we wish as to the Danube.

Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

February 9th.—Cabinet this afternoon. Lord Derby announced the resignation of Walpole and Henley. He has been obliged to have moderate disfranchisement and redistribution. But this does not satisfy Lord Stanley, who talks of resigning if the measure is not more liberal. Lord Hardwicke and General Peel are dissatisfied because it goes too far already. It may possibly end in Lord Derby's resigning. Disraeli has behaved beautifully throughout, trying to smooth all difficulties and faithful on all points to Lord Derby. So have the others.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: February 13, 1859.

My dear Cowley,—Since telegraphing to you, I have seen Lord Derby, who says with truth that you are the only man who can carry out our views with respect to France, Austria, and the Italian question. If, therefore, you have no decided reasons against it, I would urge you, having first come to an understanding with the Emperor, to go on a special mission to Vienna, and even to Turin afterwards, if necessary. The obstacle that rose to my mind was the Congress on the Principalities,[1] but it cannot meet before the 27th, as Musurus would scarcely be ready sooner. The next question is whether you think it desirable to come over here first, and see Lord Derby and me. He seems to think you should; but you have the whole business so completely at your fingers' ends, that, unless you prefer it yourself, I would not press it. The great object is to effect such a reconciliation between France and Austria that they would agree to withdraw their armies from the Papal States partly or altogether, and come to an agreement to try an amelioration of the Papal Government; to obtain positive declarations with respect to peaceful intentions, and a partial disarmament founded upon them; to induce, if possible, Austria to amend the treaties *obliging* her to enter the Italian Duchies—this I doubt. You could at the same time at Vienna sound Buol as to our admit-

[1] This Congress was to meet to decide whether there should be a union of the two Principalities under one Hospodar or under two. The Porte and England were for the latter, France and the other powers for the former.

ting the double election of Couza, provided we fortified the *suzerainté* of the Porte and the divisions of the provinces by stringent declarations, stating our admissions to be favours, and contrary to the original convention. Your full powers might be *sent* over to you as soon as I hear from you by telegraph as to substance, and by special messenger as to detail.

Yours truly,
MALMESBURY.

February 16th.—The Queen sent me a letter she had just received from Louis Napoleon. It professes friendship for England, respect for treaties, and evidently reserves for himself the interpretation he chooses to make as to how the honour and interests of France are concerned in their observance; and as he says plainly that those are his first objects, it is quite clear that he keeps himself free to act as he himself may judge. The truth is that he is determined to go to war with Austria to propitiate the Italians and to save his own life from assassination, since the *attentat* of January, 1858. Cavour worked upon this at their interview at Plombières last autumn, and persuaded him that taking up the cause of Italy will save his life, forfeited according to the laws of the Carbonari. If this is so, there must be war, for a personal motive is generally stronger than a public one, and everybody agrees that his terror of assassination is very great. No wonder, as he knows what a set of villains Carbonari are. I have reason to know he is making immense preparations for war, though he denies it in his letter to the Queen.

February 23rd.—We dined at the Palace. The Queen was very amiable, and spoke a great deal to Lady Malmesbury; and the Princess Alice, who is very charming, talked to me about music, on which subject she must have found me sadly ignorant.

February 24th.—I have sent Lord Cowley to Vienna to try and settle matters. Count Buol is much pleased. Lady Tankerville says that Lady Palmerston told her that the attack upon the foreign policy of our Government, for which her husband has given notice to-morrow, was made in compliance with the Emperor's wish!

March 1st.—Two hundred and eleven members of the House of Commons were present at Lord Derby's meeting this morning, and expressed themselves perfectly satisfied with the Reform Bill, and determined to support the Government.

March 3rd.—Lord Henry Lennox has resigned. His elder brother, Lord March, accepts office, and addresses his constituents, expressing thorough confidence in Lord Derby. Bidwell told Lord Henry that he, Walpole, and Henley were like the three men who deserted their ship at Calais the other day, thinking she was going down; they were drowned, but the ship was saved. The Radicals are furious with us for bringing in such a moderate measure, and are holding meetings to get up an agitation against it.

March 4th.—The new Ministers, Mr. Sotheron Estcourt as Home Secretary, and Lord Donoughmore as President of the Board of Trade, with Lord Lovaine as Vice-President, were sworn in by the Queen at a Privy Council.

March 6th.—Louis Napoleon means to command his army in person in the event of war. He has an idea that he is a military genius, and used to send plans of operations to the army in the Crimea; but Pélissier on one occasion made some remarks to me rather derogatory of his master's generalship.

I went to the Palace at six and had an audience of the Queen, which lasted an hour.

Lord John Russell means to propose resolutions against the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, which are sure to pass, and if we dissolve we shall have them all against us, probably getting a worse Parliament than we have at present. My idea is that the best move would be to resign at once, before the second reading. The Queen would then send for Palmerston, and the 'old lot' would come in, to the disgust of the Radicals.

The case of the 'Charles et Georges,' to which I have before alluded, came on this afternoon in both Houses. Lord Wodehouse made a violent speech against me, and I replied, showing that I had done all that could be done without going to war with France; and as the Portuguese never considered it was a *casus belli*, and M. de Loulé admitted they had never asked for anything but our good offices (which we gave), the case was a perfectly clear and simple one. The Opposition are now using every endeavour to damage us before a general election. After a great clatter, Lord Wodehouse withdrew his motion, but the newspapers continue writing everything that is most false on the subject. I wish I could settle the affairs of Italy as satisfactorily.

March 9th.—I dined at the Palace and came home very tired. I should be glad to resign, as I am worn out. The only people at the Queen's dinner were the Duke of Montrose, Lord Derby, and myself. Lord Raglan[1] is still at Berlin, where he was sent by the Queen to represent her at the baptism of the young Prince. To the great joy of his beautiful wife he returns on the 12th.

[1] Lord Raglan died in 1884.

The Conservative members of the House of Commons have objected *en masse* to the proposed disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, and Disraeli announced a modification of the clause. I fear, however, that nothing will give us a majority at the second reading. There is no doubt that Walpole's and Henley's defection have done great harm to our Government.

March 13th.—Lord Cowley crossed yesterday in the storm (which amounted to a hurricane), and called this evening. We went together to Lord Derby, who does not appear sanguine as to the success of Lord Cowley's mission to Vienna, though the Austrians have agreed to all we asked, but he fears Louis Napoleon wants war, and if so he will not be satisfied with any concession. It is said that the Italians have again threatened his life if he draws back. If so, which I believe is the case, such an existence must be misery; and no wonder he tries to escape from it. The chances of death on the field of battle would be nothing compared to the hourly expectation of the dagger of an assassin. I hear that one of Rossi's murderers formed part of the deputation sent to the Emperor in Paris, and he is constantly going to him with accounts of plots against his life.

Lady Londonderry called. She dined several times at the Tuileries, and gave us very much the same account of the Emperor, who was in low spirits. She saw Madame de Persigny, who complained of being so poor that she could not afford herself a new gown. This was accompanied with tears; so she is just as childish and silly as ever.

A Committee has been formed, with Lord Shaftesbury at its head, to collect subscriptions for Poerio and other refugees who have landed at Cork, into which port they had

forced the American captain to enter, and are now coming to London, *en route* for Turin, having broken their parole to the Neapolitan Government. Pélissier called this morning; he is annoyed at the papers having announced that he was at Paris, and considered it as a sort of joke in allusion to his retired life. So I told him he had better give a dinner, and send the list to the 'Morning Post.'

I went at three o'clock to accompany Count Lavradio, who had an audience of the Queen, but he forgot all about it, and had to apologize to Her Majesty, who took it most good-humouredly.

Big Ben, M.P. for Norfolk, headed a rebellion against the second reading of the Reform Bill. About forty members met, and agreed that Lord Derby ought either to withdraw the bill, or, if beaten, resign without dissolving. They probably mean to effect the last alternative by adding themselves to the majority.

March 18th.—The Duchesse de Malakoff called on Lady Malmesbury. Very amiable, but always in the same low spirits. She makes no effort to amuse herself. Pélissier now never stirs from home.

To-morrow will be decided whether, in case Lord John Russell's resolution on the Reform Bill passes, we shall withdraw the bill and dissolve Parliament, or wait a fortnight and then dissolve it on our general policy. Lord Cowley telegraphs that the Emperor, in a conversation, suggests a Congress of the five Powers to settle the affairs of Italy, excluding Sardinia. He says that would show the Italians that he had done all he could for them, and that they could not expect him to oppose the will of the rest of Europe. It is evident from this that it is the Italians whom he fears.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: March 19, 1859.

My dear Cowley,—We have just had a Cabinet upon your despatch and the proposal it contains for a Congress—a proposal which was made to me formally by Pélissier yesterday. Also upon your various telegrams relating to details, and the one from Loftus announcing the adhesion of Austria and her conditions. We think Rome *too far*, and also that to hold a Conference on Italian affairs anywhere in Italy is to be avoided. I cannot see how either France or Austria, after what they have said, can refuse our proposal as to Sardinia disarming; but Austria should make a declaration besides, and in the most public way, that she will not attack her. Our guarantee of Sardinia with France ought to please the Emperor, and it will take off the edge of leaving her out of the Conference. The further answer to the Liberals, who are sure to find fault with that exclusion, is, that her admission must involve that of Naples, Rome, Tuscany, Modena, and Parma, and thus five votes at the Conference. You must make the Emperor understand that we can only address ourselves to the four points—viz. evacuation, reform, security for Sardinia, and substitute for treaties of 1847. If we go farther we shall be at sea. . . .

Yours truly,
MALMESBURY.

March 21*st*.—The second reading of the Reform Bill comes on to-day, and Lord John Russell's amendment is to move that the forty-shilling freehold franchise, as hitherto exercised in the counties, shall not be abolished. Russia declares that she prefers a Congress to a Conference on the affairs of Italy, to be attended by Secretaries of State, which will oblige me to go, and Lord Derby told me to-day I was to do so, also that I should have the G.C.B.

March 22*nd*.—The Marriage Bill was thrown out in the Lords, by a majority of ten. Lord Derby is annoyed at my having to go to the Conference. The Italian Minister complains that he is so rude to him that he does not dare to

speak to him for fear of a quarrel. The fact is, as he himself confessed to me, that he is much too honest and *brusque* to make a good diplomatist, and go through the necessary humbug of the profession.

March 24th.—Azeglio is going to Paris to meet Cavour, and professes to be quite satisfied with my proposal to admit envoys from the Italian States, to be heard at the Congress, though not to sit at the Council. It is Austria that makes difficulties, and has not as yet agreed to the basis. The Emperor Louis Napoleon goes on with his preparations for war. I suspect he agrees to the Congress merely to gain time, as he is not ready. If this is the case, it would almost be better to let things take their course. Austria could not crush Sardinia before France could come to the rescue, and it would then be a fair fight between the two Great Powers; but I feel that it is an imperative duty in me to prevent so awful a calamity as such a bloody war would be.

March 25th.—The arrangements for the Congress do not get on well. Louis Napoleon is now making difficulties and temporising. Cavour is making mischief, and says that he has letters from the Emperor and minutes of his conversation with him at Plombières, 'et qu'il le tient.' I fear this is the case.

The Queen has written a very gracious letter to Lord Derby, giving him leave to dissolve Parliament and to make four Peers. Lady Derby called on Lady Malmesbury, and said that after the Queen's letter it was Lord Derby's duty to stay in as long as he could.

Austria has agreed to all my propositions, but will not hear of Sardinia being represented at the Congress in any way. I had proposed that the small States of Italy,

including Naples, should send representatives to the Congress, though only with a consultative title without a vote, and if Austria refuses to consent to this there is an end of the Congress, and war must ensue, as none of the other Powers would allow such an act of injustice. Count Apponyi called, in low spirits, and says that Austria refuses to consent to our proposals, and that there will be no Congress. The position of affairs in England complicates matters and adds to my difficulties, as none of the Great Powers, except Russia, who agrees to everything, would move an inch till it is decided whether Lord Derby's Government can hold on or not. If we were secure, Austria might make the concession we require, which she would not if Lord Palmerston and Lord John were in office; and Louis Napoleon, seeing a chance of his friends being in power, and of following a policy in accordance with his wishes, throws, of course, every kind of delay in the way of settling the case by negotiation. This is the consequence of the unpatriotic and factious conduct of the Opposition, who appear perfectly unconcerned at the slaughter their policy will occasion. The 'Morning Post,' which is the organ of the Emperor, Palmerston, and Azeglio, is more violent every day against our *peaceful* foreign policy.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: March 25, 1859.

My dear Cowley,—Your letter of yesterday is very alarming, showing, as it does, that the Emperor is no longer the same strong man in mind and nerve that he was formerly. Five years ago he would have put his cousin and Cavour in their proper places in five minutes, but now he seems to be their victim. Firmness on our part may yet save Europe from a war, by giving him courage to do what is right, and even what is best for himself. It is now quite clear to me that we could not, with all your ability and energy, have obtained an immediate disarmament. The sulky slowness of

Austria herself was as great an obstacle as Cavour's frantic struggles, and, as she is playing just as false as the rest (Prussia excepted), no dependence could be placed on her assertions to us. Austria would like to stay the war, see Sardinia *made safe*, and then have the *status quo* in Italy. My object, therefore, has been to remove all pretexts of excuse, both on the part of France and of Austria, for preventing a Conference. Sardinia was their mutual pretext, and my proposal that all the Italian States should be *invited* to attend *at* but not *in* the Conference, as Belgium and Holland did at that of London, is unanswerable in equity, and supported by a precedent of the greatest importance, inasmuch as the question there involved the creation of two new kingdoms. Russia without hesitation, nay, with eagerness, accepted all we proposed—viz. the condition restricting the subjects to our four points, and also the above-mentioned invitation to and admission of the Italian States. Prussia has done the same, and is urging the whole scheme at Vienna. If, therefore, the Conferences are to be stopped, it must be there, or at Paris. We cannot agree to admit the six Italian States into the body of the Congress, for they would make it a Babel, and Scarlett has ascertained that Parma and Modena have no wish to be so admitted. But if they and Rome are not parties to it, no more can Sardinia (with whose internal relations we do not intend to interfere) have a right to sit there. I think it desirable that you should know step by step what course we have followed in this important crisis, as the rapid succession of telegrams crossing one another from every part of Europe is very trying to the memory.

On Saturday, the 19th, Pélissier brought me a despatch from his Government, informing me that Prussia had suggested a Congress, and asking the opinion of Her Majesty's Government. A Cabinet met at three o'clock, and that evening I wrote a note to the French Ambassador telling him we should consent on condition that the subjects discussed should be confined to four—namely, evacuation, reform, security against war between Austria and Sardinia, substitute for Austro-Italian treaties. The next day I sent for Brunnow and informed him of the answer which I had sent to Pélissier, and, giving him the four points in writing, begged him to inform his Government that such would be our conditions if the proposal was made by it to us. He did so by telegraph, and on the 22nd I received a telegram from Crampton[1] to say that all our points were

[1] Our Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

accepted. On the same day Brunnow called to confirm this, and gave me a memorandum to that effect, but he did not give me the official proposal for a Congress until the following day, the 23rd. Subsequently the Russian and Prussian Governments have accepted our four points, including a distinct declaration that no territorial rearrangement was to be discussed, and that the treaties of 1815 were to be left intact. Immediately after my note of the 19th to Pélissier, I submitted our conditions to Austria, who, in reply, insisted on the admission of all the Italian States, except Sardinia, to the Congress; a proposal perfectly inadmissible, which I rejected, but upon which, up to this moment, Austria is apparently not prepared to alter her intentions. The Russian and Prussian Governments have also entirely adhered to my suggestion that the States of Italy should be present at the Congress only *en titre consultatif*. The only point, therefore, to be settled is *this last one*, and I hope you will be able to show the French Government, as Loftus, I trust, will be able to convince the Austrian Government, that it was the only alternative desirable. With regard to the question of Conference or Congress, we agree with you, and have recommended the former, but as we are not the proposers of either we cannot urge it very strongly. If the adoption of the latter name involves a general representation by Cabinet Ministers, I *must go*, because the Queen must be placed on the same footing as the other sovereigns, and, such being the case, I do not see how Walewski can avoid being present—*ergo*, *you* also.

Yours truly, MALMESBURY.

April 1st.—The division took place in the House of Commons on Lord John Russell's resolution, and we were beaten by 39. A Cabinet Council took place to-day, and immediately afterwards Lord Derby went to the Queen, but the result of his interview is to be secret till Monday, when he and Disraeli are to acquaint the Houses of Parliament with our decision. Lord Derby will not resign, but dissolve Parliament.

Lord Waterford was killed out hunting, near Curraghmore, a few days ago. His horse stumbled over a small fence, and, falling on his head, Lord Waterford dislocated

his neck—a singular death for a man who had had so many escapes. Lady Stuart de Rothesay started immediately to go to her daughter, who is said to be quite composed, but it probably stunned by the shock.

April 4th.—Lord Derby made his explanation this afternoon in the House of Lords. Disraeli spoke in the other House, and was best, as his speech was shorter.

April 9th.—Bad news from Paris. Lord Cowley had a long conversation with the Emperor yesterday, and it is quite clear that he is determined upon war. He will not induce Sardinia to disarm, and says he thinks war inevitable, as the Congress will only patch up matters and retard it. This agrees in every point with a report which I received from Turin, saying that the Sardinians were determined to go to war, and were sure of the Emperor's support; that they would be satisfied with nothing but the expulsion of Austria from Italy and the annexation of Lombardy; and that France is to get Savoy and Nice in return for her assistance. This is very annoying after having done all we could to prevent hostilities.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: April 9, 1859.

My dear Cowley,—Your very interesting and important letter has just been read to the Cabinet, and they all agreed that you did not say a word too much to the man who broke his word to you, and who, it is evident to me, has from the first meant an Italian war, but has wanted both to gain time and, if possible, to put Austria in the wrong. It appears now that Austria is reverting to her first obstinate language about Sardinian disarmament, or that Loftus misunderstood Buol in thinking that he included her in the scheme of general disarmament. I have written by telegraph to say that I will let the point stand as you put it to the Emperor, who, if he refuses (which apparently he will do), will place himself

in the wrong. I send you a copy of Buol's telegram to Apponyi, received this morning. If you will write a private letter to Buol to show him how well he will stand if the negotiations break off by France refusing an offer of general disarmament as a principle, the detail to be carried out in Congress, and the free corps specified as part of troops to be disbanded, I think you will do good. We are not prepared to give any guarantee as against France or upon eventualities; but the unanimous sentiment of the Cabinet was, that you might let it be felt by your *manner* and by *mezze parole*, that if France adopts a course of violence after the language held to you both before and after your Vienna mission, and after encouraging Russia to humbug us into these negotiations for a Congress, we shall look upon the whole proceeding as an affront as well as an unwarranted act of political profligacy. A reserved and cool demeanour is proper at this juncture, and I believe will be the best and most useful line to take. I can only add, therefore, that I wish you to adopt it towards France on the subject of the Congress and Italy, and at once to write to Count Buol, saying that his proposal, as we understood it, and as you made it at Paris, is the only one we can support among those he now suggests. We will not ask Sardinia to disarm without being able to offer her a guarantee, and that France, by refusing to join, prevents. I have been so harassed to-day between the Court and the Cabinet, that I must have written very confusedly.

P.S.—You will not entertain at present any other proposal but the one you submitted to the Emperor.

Yours truly, MALMESBURY.

April 10th.—I hear that Massimo d'Azeglio is coming to England on a special mission, which gives hopes that some arrangement may be made. He is a very distinguished and prudent man, and has been Prime Minister at Turin. Lord Palmerston announces that his Government is ready. It is the 'old lot,' Sir Charles Wood, Vernon Smith, Lord Granville, &c. This Cabinet would not have the Radicals.

April 11th.—Sir James Hudson arrived this morning from Turin, having travelled day and night. He breakfasted with us, and talks confidently of the possibility of prevent-

ing war. I gave him all the Italian papers to read. He came in a state of great alarm, fearing he might not be allowed to return to Turin as Minister, and took leave of Cavour, saying it was doubtful whether he would see him again. The fact is that he is more Italian than the Italians themselves, and he lives almost entirely with the ultras of that cause. I had reason to complain of his silence, and quite understand how disagreeable to him it must have been to aid, however indirectly, in preventing a war which he thought would bring about his favourite object—namely, the unification of Italy. France having agreed to a general disarmament, it remains to be seen what Austria will say; but I fear her obstinacy will throw some obstacle in the way of peace.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: April 11, 1859.

My dear Cowley,—I am quite determined to withdraw from this fool's paradise about a Congress if we cannot settle the matter on the present basis of a general disarmament. I will agree, of course, to the detail being before or after the Congress as the armed Powers may please to arrange, but I cannot think we should risk the public *fiasco* of being refused by Cavour *en plein Congrès*. I send you my proposal as dictated to Pélissier on Monday last, which Walewski has, of course, received, and in which you will see that Sardinia is specifically mentioned. I have also telegraphed to West[1] this day, and send you a copy of it. It will be followed, should he refuse, by a *note raisonnée*, which I shall send him alone, should the other Powers decline addressing him in the same sense. England cannot go on running from one to the other like an old aunt trying to make up family squabbles, and when I wind up, it will be to put the saddle on the right horse. The papers will show that you and I have done our best to prevent a war, and to obtain a Congress which nobody but Prussia and ourselves ever intended should take place. Brunnow writes me a long paper to prove that no disarmament should take place before the Congress. My

[1] Lord De la Warr's son, Chargé d'Affaires at Turin.

impression is that France, Russia, and Sardinia want to gain time, because every day costs Austria 50,000*l.* for her army, and France will pay Sardinia.

6 P.M.—I am glad to add that Azeglio has just been here, and has written a most urgent telegram to Cavour to induce him to agree to general disarmament. The debate coming on Friday has done this.

6.30 P.M.—Your telegram has arrived, and only confirms me in my determination not to go to a Congress without a positive agreement among all parties to disarm.

Yours truly,
MALMESBURY.

April 12th.—The Emperor Louis Napoleon refuses to ask Sardinia to *disarm*, which, of course, makes his offer for France to disarm perfectly useless. Lord Cowley writes that he has good information that Louis Napoleon told Cavour he must wait till July, and not mind in the meantime what he says or does. If this is true, it is clear that he is playing a deep game towards England and Austria, as well as to Italy, by waiting to see if Palmerston comes in.

April 14th.—We went to the Drawing Room, and were introduced to the new Lady Eglinton, Lord Essex's daughter.

April 15th.—The Emperor will not consent to the *disarmament* of Sardinia, but makes a ridiculous counter-proposition—namely, that 'Austria should disarm under a guarantee from France and England that she will not be attacked by Sardinia.' It is clear that all he wants is to gain time. Lord Clarendon quite approves of my Italian policy. He told me so himself to-day in the House of Lords, adding that he had tried to prevent Lord Palmerston and Lord John from making their intended inflammatory speeches on behalf of Italy next Monday, in which Mr. Gladstone intends also to join. This will do immense harm at this moment, for it will encourage Louis Napoleon.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: April 15, 1859.

My dear Cowley,—If you wish for more proofs than those you have personally received, in broken promises, of the falseness of the Emperor, you will have them in the paper I send you, written by the surest informer I ever employed. His knowledge of what *we* have been doing is of itself corroborative security for the truth of the rest. Now, we cannot stand before England and Europe on a better base than the last Austrian proposal, which is good in common sense and common equity. It is better than ours, because simpler and safer. I would of course go into Congress upon *ours*; but if Austria insists on *hers*, I cannot oppose her by insisting on mine *against* hers. I wish you distinctly to let this be understood by Walewski and the Emperor, and that if Sardinia refuses to agree to disarm with Austria and France, we shall withdraw from any further negotiations, as we do not mean to be dragged into being accessories before the war, whatever we may be obliged to become afterwards. You may depend upon it that to the common-sense of Englishmen, of whatever party they may be, the fairness of the Austrian proposal will be convincing. I expect the French will try to ride off upon our proposal of a *previous agreement* to disarm and a post-Congress execution because Austria has declared she will not consent. It is necessary, therefore, that you should state at once we will not insist on ours as against Austria's plan if she persists in it. If Sardinia refuses disarmament now, and Austria makes it a *casus belli*, accompanying it with a note showing her cruel position in being made to wait and bleed to death, or till her enemies are ready, I believe public opinion will be with her. I shall not mention the Emperor personally at all on Monday.

Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

(Paper referred to in foregoing.)

Londres, 15 avril 1859.

L'une des raisons principales (peut-être la cause essentielle) qui forceront le gouvernement français à admettre le Congrès, c'est qu'en dépit de tout ce que ses journaux semi-officiels déclarent, il n'est pas encore préparé pour la guerre. Je tiens du ——, que la nouvelle artillerie ne répond pas à l'attente qu'on en avait conçue,

que les projectiles fabriqués pour les canons rayés n'offrent pas assez de résistance et éclatent bien avant de toucher au but, que tous ceux déjà forés ont dû être repesés ; que les nouveaux pour être prêts et efficaces demandent des essais et des délais de fabrication qui exigeront deux mois au moins. Deux ouvriers employés dans le temps à Newcastle par Sir William Armstrong sont en effet employés à Vincennes ; aujourd'hui l'insuccès des nouveaux projectiles—on les appelle 'bolt' à Vincennes—fait dire que ces hommes ont été induits en erreur. D'un autre côté, le désarmement général proposé par l'Autriche et appuyé, m'a-t-on assuré, par Votre Seigneurie embarrasse singulièrement le gouvernement français : ou il doit conseiller au Piémont de désarmer, et alors il humilie mortellement le Comte Cavour ; ou il prouve au monde que ses protestations pour la paix étaient mensongères. Le Général Ulloa, réfugié vénitien, et intermédiaire du Prince Napoléon, se retranche derrière 'l'indépendance du Piémont' pour laisser ce pays libre de désarmer ou non. Des renseignements reçus de diverses sources, toutes dignes de foi, m'imposent le devoir d'apprendre à Votre Seigneurie qu'à Vienne on ne fait pas mystère d'accepter des négociations qui font perdre un temps précieux, et compromettent, en temporisant, l'excellente position militaire de l'Autriche aux instances du gouvernement britannique. S'il n'y avait pas de Congrès, ou si le Congrès n'allait pas aboutir, il est à craindre que, dans le cas où les hostilités seraient funestes à l'Autriche, celle-ci ne reprochât alors à son gouvernement d'avoir trop écouté l'Angleterre.

April 16*th*.—Madame Bernstorff[1] called. She told us that great laughter was created at the Drawing Room by Mr. Under-Sheriff Thomas Jones passing the Queen with his wife's cloak on his arm. I had an audience at the Palace afterwards. The Queen did me the honour to say she was pleased at Lord John Russell praising me in his speech yesterday in the City. So friendly an interest on the part of Her Majesty is a great satisfaction to me in the midst of my labours and anxiety.

April 18*th*.—Went to the House of Lords to make my

[1] Wife of the Prussian Minister.

statement. Nervous at not having any good news to announce, and the subject being one of such extreme delicacy, that it was necessary to weigh every word. But I am satisfied with my speech, which was much cheered. Lord Derby made a very fine impromptu one, which had a great effect, and the debate was altogether in our favour. Lord Clarendon made a friendly speech. The French, not being ready, are in a state of alarm, and willing to do almost anything we choose, having received news that the Austrians have marched on the Ticino, and are going to send a summons to Sardinia to disarm instantly, or they will attack them without further delay. They have applied for aid to France, which has sent two divisions to the foot of the Alps, but can render no further assistance, being still so unprepared for war that General Renaud has refused to take the command of the army in its present state. Walewski has telegraphed to Malakoff and to me imploring me to consent to admit Sardinia at the Congress, and he will urge her to disarm under a guarantee. I refused, and sent the following proposition, which, if not accepted by France and Austria, is the last I will make—namely, '*A general and simultaneous disarmament previous to the Congress, under the superintendence of a military commission to ensure its being efficiently carried out.* Sardinia to be invited to attend the Congress with the other Italian States, after the precedent of the Congress of Laybach in 1821; but, in accordance with the agreement entered into by France and Austria, Sardinia is not to sit in the Congress as one of the Great Powers.' If these propositions are rejected, I will give up all further negotiation; and if Austria is aware of her position, she will probably attack Sardinia at once, and crush her before France or Russia can come to her assistance.

April 19th.—Sardinia accepts the *general disarmament* on the condition proposed by me, that she and the other Italian States shall be admitted into the Congress on the same footing as at Laybach. It remains to be seen whether Austria consents. If she does, all the difficulties preparatory to the Congress are overcome. If she refuses, our Government will withdraw from the office of mediator, and leave the three disputants to settle their affairs as they like. I went to Windsor with Massimo d'Azeglio. We dined and slept there.

April 20th.—Austria has returned no answer yet to my last proposal. If she refuses the case becomes very complicated, and it is impossible to say what will happen.

Lady Cowley called on Lady Malmesbury, and spoke in high terms of the agreeable footing established between her husband and myself in our official capacities. She expressed herself much pleased also at Lord Clarendon's taking the same view of Italian politics as I do.

April 21st.—The French, to whom the Sardinians have applied for advice and assistance, recommend them to disarm, as they cannot send any troops to help them in sufficient force under ten days, when they could land a hundred thousand men at Genoa; but before that the Sardinians would be crushed, and Turin taken. This information comes from Pélissier.

The Staffords, Shaftesburys, the Sardinian Minister, his uncle Massimo d'Azeglio, and Sir James Hudson, dined with us. The warlike news cast a gloom over the whole party, and the only laugh created was by my telling them that when a circular was sent to the foreign Courts announcing the confirmation of the Princess Alice, which took place to-day, it was discovered that in the Foreign Office

cypher the same figures stood for *confirmation* and *confinement*, which was awkward.

April 25th.—The Austrian summons to Sardinia to disarm was given at Turin on the 23rd. The Queen was very anxious about the war when we went down to Windsor for a Council.

April 26th.—Duc de Malakoff is recalled from London, and is to command the Army of Observation on the Rhine. Persigny is said to be appointed Ambassador here in his place. If true, it is a hostile demonstration on the part of the Emperor towards our Administration, for he well knows how Persigny and his wife behaved when last in England, and how disagreeable it will be for us to have them here, and for me to transact business with him almost daily. He will go and repeat everything I say to Lord Palmerston. Lord Cowley has begged me not to object to him, and M. de Malaret told me that the Emperor objected to the Duc de Gramont, about whom there was a question, coming here as Ambassador, because he married Miss Mackinnon, an Englishwoman. Several thousand French troops have landed at Genoa, whilst another division is crossing the Alps.

April 29th.—All Italy is now up; some of the Tuscan superior officers required the Grand Duke either to abdicate or declare himself for Sardinia. He refused to do either, and left Florence. Victor Emanuel has been proclaimed Dictator. The French have experienced great difficulties in crossing the Mont Cenis, on account of the snow. Four thousand workmen were employed in clearing the way.

April 30th.—The elections are going on badly for our

Government. Count Kielmansegge, the Hanoverian Minister, says openly that Germany ought to declare war with France at once, and tells me that the Germans are very anxious to do so. This summons of the Austrians to Sardinia is a great disadvantage to us at the elections, but we must try to localize the war outside the bounds of the Confederation. If the French enter the Tyrol the German Confederation would be bound to assist the Austrians, which Prussia is very anxious to do. It is for this reason, and to minimize the war as much as possible, that our Government has urged Prussia[1] to remain tranquil, and I have written a strong despatch on the subject. The French Emperor would naturally be glad to manœuvre on his left flank, but would find himself in a hornet's nest, and all Europe would be in a blaze. The Duke of Saxe-Coburg, whom I saw at Windsor, is very eager to command the Prussian army. I went to Windsor this morning to meet him, but by some mistake he came up to London to see me.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: May 2, 1859.

My dear Cowley,—Before the Emperor leaves Paris, make a great effort to keep us out of the war, by obtaining his consent, with that of Russia and ourselves, to neutralise the Adriatic and Baltic. Ask for both, and if he consents, get both. Ask for the east shore of the Adriatic up to Trieste and the Baltic; and if you cannot get that, the Baltic alone. To *us* the former signifies less, although attacks on Austrian territory in the north-east corner of

[1] This despatch to Prussia, which is in my Blue Book, was (unknown at the time to me) never shown to the Emperor, and when, three years later, I saw him and he stated that I had encouraged Germany to act against him, I proved to him the contrary by sending him a copy of it through the Duke of Hamilton. I conclude that Lord Cowley, to whom I sent it, at the time showed it to Walewski, and that the latter purposely suppressed it. The reader will find it given at full length further on.

the Adriatic might bring Turkey into play, and so have us into it. But the neutrality of the Baltic would be a great security for our remaining neutral, and I think the Emperor must see it. If Germany goes to war with France, the blockade of her ports by France or Russia must eventually drag us into the war, as our trade would be ruined, and this is the only question besides the Turkish one that would do so. Urge it, therefore, in your best style. I telegraph to Crampton to moot it at St. Petersburg.

Now for yourself. I am told that if the Emperor goes to Italy, you ought to be with him—I mean *near* him, because an Ambassador is accredited to the sovereign himself. The Queen thinks it would look too French, but I do not agree. What I am convinced would be valuable, would be your advice and *coup d'œil* at critical moments, when a gleam of light might break in to give a chance for pacific counsels and mediation. I have seen the Duke of Coburg, who is red hot. He says Prussia cannot resist the pressure of public opinion, and has therefore armed, and his aide-de-camp goes so far as to hope that the Austrians will be beaten this week, because then all Germany will rise as one man and invade France. I told his Royal Highness that if they did, and France attacked them in the Baltic, not one atom of help would they get from us. He then stated that as long as the fighting was confined to Piedmont, Germany would look on, but if the Austrians were repulsed and the French followed over the Ticino, they would at once say, 'So far, but no farther, or it is a German war.' If this is true, you see how useful it would be in such an eventuality to have a man like you by Louis Napoleon to stop him, and the war too, at the Rubicon. If you come over with your daughters, I shall see you, which would be, at all events, desirable, but do not start till you have done your best for the maritime neutralities.

Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

May 5th.—I had visits from the two Counts Hallwyl, both gentleman-like young men. They are Swiss and of a great family, being descended from the elder branch of the Hapsburgs, in consequence of which the late Emperor of Austria at his Court is said to have given them precedence over the Archdukes. I went to the Palace at three, to present the

Duc de Malakoff, who had an audience to deliver his letters of recall. He very nearly cried when he left the room, and when he got to the top of the staircase he embraced me, and went downstairs crying like a child. He is miserable at leaving England. The Queen was quite touched, and when I returned to Her Majesty she desired me to write in her name to the Duchess to say how much she regretted her departure. Disraeli says that 315 members are pledged to him to support the Government, and is in great spirits.

The Austrians have crossed the Po at Cambio, advancing upon Sala, and are entrenching themselves, nobody knows why, as they are said to have 90,000 infantry, 13,000 cavalry, and 200 guns; against 70,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and 80 guns. They will, however, lose all by their slowness; when the snow is melted on the Cenis the French artillery will be able to cross and their opportunity will be lost.

May 6th.—The Duchesse de Malakoff, accompanied by Lady Ely, paid us a parting visit. She looked ill and very low, and cried so much at taking leave of Lady Malmesbury that Lady Ely said she would bring her back again to-morrow to wish her good-bye. Lord Cowley told me this morning that he had remonstrated with Walewski against M. de Persigny being named as Pélissier's successor, and had received a promise that he would not send him. If he does I shall transact business only through Lord Cowley and the French Foreign Minister at Paris—namely, Walewski.

May 8th.—Lady Palmerston is quite sure of turning us out, and of her husband being sent for, and will not hear of Lord John Russell being a more likely man. She says that

Lord Palmerston had already formed his Government, and was quite ready to accept office. Lady Mary Craven, who is just returned from Paris, told me that all the English were rushing home from Italy and France, and that six hundred English left Paris the day before she did, as there is a strong feeling that Paris will not be safe after the departure of the Emperor.

The Emperor has been obliged to leave many more troops than he at first intended, owing to the excitement and dissatisfaction known to exist at Paris. All his best friends have warned him against the course he is pursuing, but he has been obstinately bent upon war. If he is beaten he will lose his crown, for his defeat and that of a legitimate sovereign would not have the same consequences, the relative positions not being equal.

Sir John Lawrence dined with us. He is, in appearance as well as intellect, just the man to govern a rebellious India. He has the most determined expression of countenance I ever saw, and no one who met him this evening felt a doubt that he would hesitate for a single moment in doing what he thought necessary for the safety of the country he governed, however arbitrary the measures required might be.

May 10*th*.—M. de Malaret called at the Foreign Office, much disturbed because I had not yet returned any answer to the announcement of Persigny's appointment; and he was not satisfied with my message, which was simply that 'the Queen would receive anyone that was sent by the Emperor of the French.' M. de Malaret observed that the answer was 'very *short*;' but I replied that 'it would be the more easy for him to telegraph.' M. de Malaret then, without my having made a single remark, began a vindication of

Persigny's conduct last year, which I received very coldly, so they must be perfectly aware at the French Embassy how disagreeable the appointment is to us.

May 12th.—Lord Clarendon called upon me this morning, and stayed for an hour talking politics.

May 14th.—Persigny called upon me at the Foreign Office, and I received him in a friendly manner, as he appears anxious to be on good terms with our Government. He spoke very frankly, and gave the same account as Lord Cowley of his nomination—namely, that the Emperor had given him the Foreign Office in the place of Walewski, when, at the last moment, Madame Walewska went to the Emperor, threw herself at his feet, and persuaded him to reinstate her husband. The Emperor then desired Walewski to send Persigny to London as Ambassador, 'et sans raisonnements.' His credentials are not signed, and must be sent to Italy for the Emperor's signature, so in the meantime he returns to Paris. *Quære*, whether this was not done to prepare an honourable retreat for him if the Queen had objected to his appointment?

May 16th.—Prince and Princess Obrenovitch called on us. He is son of Prince Milosch, Prince of Servia. She is a Hungarian, and has a great reputation for beauty. They are very anxious to have children, and have come to consult the English doctors.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: May 17, 1859.

My dear Cowley,—

. . . . . .

Persigny gave Lord Derby and me three hours of assurances respecting himself and the entire innocence of the Emperor of all

previous intention to go to war against Austria before the 15th of last month!! We received him very civilly, but he said with some confusion that his letters would have to go all the way to Italy to be signed. I suspect that he and his master are waiting to see what the 7th June may bring about, and perhaps it is as well it should be so. He told me the Emperor could win a *couple* of victories, and, having driven the Austrians into their *tanière*, leave a Marshal to enjoy the marshes of Mantua, and return to Paris.

Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

May 18th.—Persigny has returned from Paris, and I presented him to-day to the Queen to deliver his credentials. Her Majesty received him civilly, but coldly, and he made no speech. He did not appear satisfied with his reception, and did not speak for five minutes after he left Her Majesty. He is very anxious at the menacing attitude of Germany and Prussia, and with reason; but the *casus belli* depends on the Emperor and his ally not crossing the bounds of the German Confederation. We are doing all we can to localise the war in the Lombard provinces.

I dined at the Palace; as did the Duchess of Manchester.

May 19th.—We went to the Drawing Room, which was very full. Mrs. Dallas presented a Mrs. Morgan, wife of the United States Minister at Lisbon. Her appearance was peculiar, her dress consisting of a green silk train, and a white petticoat, without a bit of tulle or ribbon—nothing but a plain hem at the bottom, and, I should think, nothing but a chemise under. She looked as if she had forgotten her gown and petticoat altogether and had come in her slip.

I gave my diplomatic dinner this evening. Persigny looked very melancholy, so I went up to him in a friendly manner, at which he seemed quite pleased.

Count Vitzthum, the Saxon Minister, called in the most

excited state about the war, and says that, if the Austrians are defeated, nothing will prevent Germany from rising, and if the allies gain a battle, 400,000 men will at once march upon Paris. The French have no army to oppose them on the Rhine, and Pélissier would be crushed. Azeglio has sent a telegram to the Duke of Cambridge announcing a victory gained by the Sardinians and French at Montebello. The French admit a loss of 500 killed and wounded.

May 22nd.—A telegram from Sir J. Hudson confirming the above gives some additional details. The first troops engaged were the Sardinian cavalry, under General Sonnaz, who charged six times, and kept the Austrians in check until the arrival of Forey's division, which took the town of Montebello, house by house, at the point of the bayonet. The Austrians then retreated, leaving 200 prisoners. This happened on the 20th, and the next day Cialdini is said to have forced the passage of the Sesia. The Austrian version, which I received this afternoon, was, that General Gyulai sent Count Stadion to make a forced reconnaissance of the French position. He fell in with a superior force, and retired according to orders. He makes no mention of Cialdini's victory. General Count de Flahault, who was with me, seemed to think it an affair of outposts. He is much pleased with me for having accepted him when it was proposed to send him here as Ambassador, and told me that I had done more for him than his friends the Whigs ever had, Lord Palmerston having once positively refused to have him. Lord John Russell is said to be ready to serve under Lord Palmerston.

May 23rd.—The King of Naples, *alias* Bomba, is dead.

I hear the Austrians boast of having resisted, with 15,000 men, 40,000 of the Allies, for four hours, and only retreating before overwhelming masses without losing a gun; but the natural question is, Where was the rest of their army? and why was it not present?

Lord Normanby, who is at Florence, says that Sardinia now pays taxes to the amount of 55 per cent. for the support of the army. At this moment the poor peasants are in a lamentable state, the mulberry trees cut down, which feed the silkworms—their great article of trade.

May 24th.—The French papers give an account of the battle of Montebello, making out they were only 4,000, and the Austrians 18,000. Lord Cowley told Walewski he wondered he was not ashamed of putting such statements in the 'Moniteur,' to which he returned no answer. The account from Turin, dated May 21, says that the Piedmontese cavalry were driven out of Casteggio by the Austrians, and followed by them to Montebello. The French, under Forey, arrived to their support, but after a severe contest of two hours the Allies were driven out of Montebello. They were then reinforced, and recaptured the village after much fighting and slaughter, the Austrians suffering severely during the retreat. At Casteggio they rallied and waited for the French, who were repulsed, and retired in disorder to Montebello, both parties entering the village pell-mell with fearful slaughter. The French admit having had between six and seven hundred men *hors de combat.* It is said that General Baraguay d'Hilliers sent to wake Louis Napoleon in the middle of the night of the 19th and 20th, telling him he expected to be attacked before daybreak. The Emperor replied, 'Est-ce là tout? Ce n'était

vraiment pas la peine de nous déranger!' and went the next morning to visit the battle-field of Marengo.

May 27th.—The Queen returned to London yesterday, and we are invited to dinner to-morrow.

Hudson telegraphs that Garibaldi has beaten the Austrians at Varese.

The Dowager Duchess of Hamilton died last night. She had been one of the handsomest women of her time, and was the daughter of Mr. Beckford, well known for his love of art and his collections.

It is said the Emperor is at Alessandria, and following the dangerous precedent of Marc Antony in Egypt.

May 29th.—The Queen and Prince feel very strongly the defeat of the Austrians, and are anxious to take their part, but I told Her Majesty that was quite impossible; this country would not go to war even in support of Italian independence, and there would not be ten men in the House of Commons who would do so on behalf of Austria. Her Majesty and his Royal Highness are quite aware of this.

Garibaldi is reported to have gained three victories.

The number of French killed at Montebello is now officially announced as being 1,163.

Very little joy is shown at Paris at the French victory. It seems well ascertained that the Emperor went off sight-seeing at Marengo instead of joining his troops or sending reinforcements to the front! The Piedmontese say they have crossed the Sesia and defeated the Austrians at Palestro, and that Garibaldi is at Como. At these last battles the King of Sardinia showed great intrepidity. He headed his troops and was in the thick of the *mêlée*.

June 1*st.*—I hear there is to be no vote of censure on our Government, but no doubt Lords Palmerston and John Russell, with those who expect to form part of their Government, are most factious, and determined to turn us out if they possibly can.

Madame de Persigny was at the Queen's concert last night, dressed like a little girl, in white, with pink ribbons, without jewels or flowers.

June 3*rd.*—The newspapers are beginning to make remarks on the difference between Victor Emanuel and Louis Napoleon—the former fighting for three consecutive days at the head of his soldiers, and bivouacking with them on the field of battle, whilst the latter picnics with Madame C——. However untrue this may be, there is no doubt that the French are giving the Sardinians the roughest portion of the business to perform.

June 4*th.*—Lords Palmerston and John Russell and Sidney Herbert have issued a paper signed by them, to call a meeting at Willis's Rooms, and to agree upon an amendment to the Address.

June 6*th.*—I received this morning from Lord Cowley a telegram announcing a great victory gained by the French at Magenta. The Emperor's message to the Empress admits 3,000 French killed and wounded, and 15,000 Austrians *hors de combat*. After the battle of Palestro, in which the French took no part, the King asked for a French division to assist him and enable him to get a little rest, as his forces were exhausted after twelve hours' fighting. The French, though they had 50,000 men near or in the town, refused, and the King had to entrench himself, and his men slept with

their muskets piled before them. The Austrians attacked them the next day, and drove them back. A French division came up, but remained some distance behind, and when the King sent to General Trochu to beg him to advance, he refused to engage in the action without orders from the Emperor, who was not there. The Sardinians would have been completely crushed if the colonel of the 3rd Regiment of Zouaves had not rushed to their rescue without orders, crying, 'Mais, ces malheureux vont être abîmés!' and then made the famous charge which resulted in taking the Austrian battery and saving the Piedmontese army.

June 7th.—The Queen opened Parliament. I acted, as Lord Willoughby's substitute, as Lord Great Chamberlain.

There are no details of the battle of Magenta, but the French loss is so great that they do not dare announce it in Paris. Two generals, Espinasse and Claire, are killed. At Castelnovello, near Mortara, wounded Austrians were murdered by the peasants.

June 8th.—Telegram from Lord Augustus Loftus from Vienna, saying the fighting continued all Sunday, the bridge of Magenta being taken and re-taken six times, and the slaughter great on both sides. The Austrians had not retreated or the French gained an inch.

June 9th.—I received a telegram from Paris, announcing the entry into Milan of the Emperor and King. I cannot understand why the French were so long entering Milan, as the battle of Magenta was fought on June 4, and it was not till the morning of the 8th that the two sovereigns made their entry. The distance is only twelve miles. General Baraguay d'Hilliers and Marshal Vaillant have been super-

seded by Marshal Randon and General Forey. The former is accused of allowing himself to be surprised at Montebello, and the latter is too heavy to ride, and is obliged to go about in a carriage. The retirement of Baraguay d'Hilliers throws great doubt on whether Montebello was a victory to the French. If it was, this is the first instance of a general in command of a victorious army being superseded.

Lady Palmerston told Lady Tankerville that we should be beaten by twelve on the Address. I am also of that opinion, and, as far as I am personally concerned, shall be glad, as I am ill and tired.

June 10th.—I had an audience of the Queen to-day. Both Her Majesty and the Prince appeared to be anxious about the position of the Government, and the events of the war in Italy, which must affect all Germany. They know Lord Palmerston's sympathies with France and Sardinia against Austria.

June 11th.—Lord Derby's Government was beaten this morning by a majority of 13—323 for the amendment to the Address, 310 against. The division took place at half-past two, and the result was received with tremendous cheers by the Opposition. Azeglio and some other foreigners were waiting in the lobby outside, and when Lord Palmerston appeared redoubled their vociferations. Azeglio is said to have thrown his hat in the air, and himself in the arms of Jaucourt, the French Attaché, which probably no Ambassador, or even Italian, ever did before in so public a place. We held a Cabinet Council at eleven A.M., and at twelve Lord Derby went to the Queen to tender his resignation and that of his colleagues. The Queen wrote him a very kind letter this morning, saying that she was much grieved at his

Government being defeated, but would not part from him a second time without a mark of her favour, and gave him the Garter, making him an extra knight, which is hardly ever done, except for Royalties, and at the same time she told him she would give Sir John Pakington and me the Grand Cross of the Bath, on which I was congratulated in the kindest manner by all my colleagues. It is much better for our credit to resign now, than to struggle through another session with a majority against us, hampering every measure brought forward, and obliging us to make humiliating concessions derogatory to the character of the party We have now been turned out by a mere trial of strength. Nothing serious has been brought forward against us, only vague and general accusations of having mismanaged Reform and *not preventing war*; but, as the Italian papers have not yet been given to Parliament, they have condemned us without evidence on the latter point.

June 12th.—It is said that Lord Clarendon refuses positively to join Lord Palmerston. The same authority declares there is no doubt that Persigny came with orders not to spare money in getting votes against us at the election; that one gentleman received 480*l.*, the cost of his late election, is well known.

Thus fell the second Administration of Lord Derby. With a dead majority against him, it is evident that he could not for long have maintained his ground, but it is equally certain that he would not have been defeated on the Address if Disraeli had previously laid on the table the Blue-book containing the Italian and French correspondence with the Foreign Office. Why he chose not to do so I never knew, nor did

he ever explain it to me; but I presented it to the House of Lords at the last moment when I found he would not give it to the House of Commons, and at least twelve or fourteen members of Parliament who voted against us in the fatal division came out of their way at different times and places to assure me that, had they read that correspondence before the debate, they never would have voted for an amendment which, as far as our conduct respecting the War was concerned, was thoroughly undeserved, we having done everything that was possible to maintain peace. Mr. Cobden was one of these, and expressed himself most strongly to me on the subject. It may be asked why Lord Derby did not himself order this Blue-book to be produced; but the fact was that he wished to resign, worn out by repeated attacks of gout and the toil of his office, and was indifferent to continuing the struggle. When, a few days after, the Blue-book was read, I received as many congratulations upon its contents as during the past year I had suffered attacks from the Opposition and from the 'Press,' and many members repeated over and over again that, had they read it, they would not have supported the amendment.

June 14th.—Everybody is at Ascot. The Queen is gone to Windsor, but returns to hold a Council, when the new Ministers will be sworn in if their Government is formed. At present only Lord John Russell is appointed as Foreign Secretary. Lord Palmerston wished for Lord Clarendon, but the former insisted on having it himself. Our party are very much displeased with Disraeli for not laying the French and Italian correspondence on the table of the House of Commons in time, as all agree now that we should have had a majority if that had been done.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: June 14, 1859.

My dear Cowley,—It only remains for me to thank you for all the able and cheerful assistance you have given me. You have been my right-hand man, and I hope the future Government will continue to avail themselves of your services. . . .

They are squabbling about the Chancellor at this moment, as to whether he should be Cranworth, Bethell, Cockburn, or Romilly. I conclude Hudson is dancing about with joy at the development of his lucubrations. Azeglio was waiting at the House of Commons door, and when the division was announced, cheered and drummed on his hat, to the indignation of our defeated M.P.s. Fancy you, the English Ambassador playing such antics at the gates of the Tuileries! What mountebanks Italians are! He and Jaucourt embraced and halloed in the most frantic way when Palmerston walked out of the House. Persigny has not been near me for above a week. Dizzy would not let me lay the Italian papers the first night, and Clarendon says this lost us the division! If I had not insisted on Friday, they could not have appeared at all. Adieu.

Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

June 16*th*.—Lord Derby made a short statement about his resignation of office, and attacked Lord Granville for having repeated what had passed between the Queen and him. The substance of their conversation appeared in the 'Times' next morning, and must have been either sent by him or repeated to some one who sent it, the only people present being the Queen, Prince, and Lord Granville. I hear Her Majesty was very much displeased when she read the article. Lord Granville confessed he had been indiscreet, and had repeated his conversation with Her Majesty to his political friends, and as Mr. Delane dined with him on that day, there is little doubt how the statement got into the 'Times.'

June 18*th*.—We all went to Windsor to give up our seals of office. I had a long audience of the Queen, who was most

kind and gracious, and went so far as to say she was sorry to lose my services. All my colleagues, as they were coming back in the railway carriage, praised the Blue-book on Italy, except Disraeli, who never said a word.

The new Cabinet is as follows: Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone; Foreign Secretary, Lord John Russell; Home Secretary, Sir George Cornewall Lewis; Colonial Secretary, Duke of Newcastle; War Secretary, Mr. Sidney Herbert; Indian Secretary, Sir Charles Wood; Admiralty, Duke of Somerset; Lord Chancellor, Lord Campbell; President of the Council, Lord Granville; Privy Seal, Duke of Argyll; Postmaster-General, Lord Elgin; President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Cobden; Poor Law Board, Mr. Milner Gibson; Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Cardwell; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Sir George Grey.

Lord John Russell came to see me at seven o'clock this afternoon, as is customary for the new Secretary to do, in order to get a *résumé* of the state of foreign affairs. He expressed himself anxious to keep up the navy and defences of the country, and observe strict neutrality, although we know that Lord Palmerston wishes the war to proceed at any cost for the emancipation of Italy. Gladstone announces his intention of cutting down our expenditure, and has refused to take our estimates. I foresee in all this the seeds of future discord; and the amount of talent in the Cabinet, instead of facilitating legislation, will impede it.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office: June 18, 1859.

My dear Cowley,—I am just come from Windsor, where the last act was consummated, and I am about to have a long hour's conversation with Lord John. The Cabinet is remarkable for its *personnel* of talent, and for having *three* Dukes in it. The successes

of the French army give serious cause of reflection. Here is a man professing to be *unprepared*, who has in six weeks sent an army of 150,000 men and 400 guns, with pontoons, &c., from France to the Mincio, driving the finest army possible before him like sheep. To believe he will stop or be stopped is what I cannot do. The next year will be one of triumph and debauchery. Then will come the Rhine quarrel, but he will fight shy if he can of England. It is a *superstition* with *him* to do that. You still seem to believe in Walewski and Louis Napoleon; I cannot do so. Now our Blue-book is together, it is evident that he never meant a Congress. The proofs are the Russian proposal, which floored you, and his refusal to make Sardinia disarm on our guarantee. Our Blue-book—for it is yours and mine—has had the most wonderful success, and completely turned the tide which the newspapers had driven against us; but Disraeli would not let me lay it the first day. Clarendon, and all the Whigs, and our men say that it would have saved us if it had come out. If I had not laid it myself on the Friday, it would never have appeared at all! His real reason for this strange line was that he *had not read it*, and could not have fought it in debate. The absence of the document enabled both Palmerston and J. Russell to make the most unfounded assertions that we 'had threatened France,' &c. I suppose all this will end in a Congress at last.

Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

Mr. J. T. Delane to Lord M.

16 Serjeants' Inn: June 20, 1859.

Dear Lord Malmesbury,—Allow me to suggest in reply to your phrase 'posthumous praise,' that it was not my fault that the praise came too late. I sincerely believe that if you had published your despatches a fortnight earlier they would have had a very important influence on the division, and I think it has been sufficiently proved that I should have done you justice irrespective of party interests.

. . . . . .

Faithfully yours,

JOHN T. DELANE.[1]

[1] I wrote to thank Mr. Delane for his posthumous praise of my Italian correspondence in the Blue-book. Mr. Delane was the celebrated editor of the *Times*, and a man of great intelligence, much appreciated in society by both political parties.

This was an answer to a note which I wrote to Mr. Delane, the editor of the 'Times,' for praising my Blue-book on the Italian war, after a long course of abuse.

June 21*st*.—Ferdinand St. Maur, the Duke of Somerset's son, called to thank me for the letter of introduction which Count Apponyi has given him at my request to Count Rechberg, the Austrian Prime Minister. Ferdinand wishes to join the Austrian army and see the campaign.

June 22*nd*.—Mr. Burrell called. He came from Hamburg, and travelled in the train with a French colonel who was going to join the army in Italy, and who said they were sadly in want of officers, an immense number having been killed. They were picked off by the Tyrolese riflemen.

June 23*rd*.—An order has been given by Lord John Russell that everything *without exception* is to be sent to Lord Palmerston and the Queen without his marking it. I suppose this is to make a contrast with Lord Palmerston's conduct when Foreign Secretary under *him*, and when he turned him out for not sending the *famous* despatch to the Queen and himself.

June 25*th*.—My father-in-law, Lord Tankerville, died last night. He was above eighty. He walked to his bed without any assistance, and his valet found him dead in the morning. He had always been most kind and friendly to me.

June 26*th*.—The French gained another great victory[1] on the 24th, owing, it is said, to the folly of the Emperor of Austria, who, contrary to every rule of strategy, crossed

[1] On the plain of Solferino.

the Mincio to offer battle to the Allies, with the river in his rear. The battle lasted twelve hours. The right wing of the Austrians, under Benedek, had defeated the Piedmontese, but, their centre being broken, they were forced to retire, which they seem to have done in good order, not having lost any of their field artillery. The French claim three flags and 7,000 prisoners, but say nothing of their own losses, which must have been great, as they were unable to pursue the Austrians; and it is remarkable that in both the last combats, after desperate fighting, the Allies have never been able to follow up the beaten army. They are, therefore, very much of the nature of drawn battles.

At Magenta it was quite so, for on the second day they were held in check, and the greater part of their army retired across the Ticino to reorganise, which they did not effect till three days after the battle, when they entered Milan, only twelve miles off. The Austrians had the best of the battle till one o'clock, when MacMahon came up and saved the day.

June 29th.--The French losses must be very heavy, as they have been three days inactive since the battle of Solferino, and, according to the telegrams, are only just crossing the Mincio. The Sardinian cavalry have been nearly annihilated.

June 30th.—Colonel Claremont, our Commissioner with the French army, writes that it has lost 15,000 killed and wounded, among whom are two generals, Dieu and L'Admirault. He says that the wounded suffered horribly from the intense heat and want of water; the drought in the country

where the French are encamped being so great that many children belonging to the peasantry in the villages have died of thirst. Colonel Claremont says also that the Austrians retreated in perfect order, and at that moment a tremendous storm came on; the sky was perfectly black, and the constant flash of the lightning, the hurricane, and deluge of rain and hail, all mingled with the roar of cannon, made the most awful scene that can be imagined. When the sun again shone forth, the Austrian columns were just visible in the distance. The French, though victorious, had suffered so much that they could not pursue. The feeling at Vienna is very bad. They accuse the Emperor of having sacrificed the army by his own and Gyulai's mismanagement. This is supposed to be the reason of his return to Vienna.

I went at three o'clock to the Palace to attend the chapter of the Bath and to receive the Cross from Her Majesty's hands.

July 1st.—Ossulston, Lord Wrottesley, and I attended Lord Tankerville's funeral, which took place at Harlington, in the churchyard of which stands, I believe, the largest yew tree in England. I never saw one so enormous, excepting perhaps that at Broomfield, in Somersetshire.

July 2nd.—The losses of the French and Austrians are beginning to ooze out. They are apparently terrible, judging by what they admit. The 'Moniteur' confesses to the French loss being 720 officers *hors de combat*, 120 of whom are killed, and 12,000 privates killed and wounded; but private accounts state the numbers to be three times as great. The French Chasseurs d'Afrique, who were sent in pursuit of the Austrians on the 24th, were completely ridden over by the Uhlans. The Sardinians own to having lost 5,000 killed

and wounded. The Emperor Louis Napoleon announced in a despatch to the Empress, dated July 1, that the arrival of Prince Napoleon at Villaggio with 35,000 men has enabled him to approach Verona; that he has left the *corps d'armée* at Goito to watch Mantua, and is about to assemble another at Brescia to watch the passes of the Tyrol. The Austrians own to having lost 2,000 killed and 8,000 wounded.

July 4th.—The King of the Belgians sent for me to-day, but had nothing particular to say, so it was evidently only a compliment. He sent for Lord Derby in the same way yesterday. He told me, however, that Lord John Russell had sent a very sneering despatch to Prussia, but he did not think Prussia would go to war, and that he meant to fortify Antwerp.

The heat is becoming fearful, and the smell from the Thames so bad in Whitehall Gardens, where we live, that we cannot open the windows.

Lord John Russell has cancelled Sir Arthur Magenis' appointment to Naples, and recalled Lord Chelsea, who is Secretary of Embassy at Paris. Lord John's brother-in-law, Elliot, is to have Naples, and a Grey gets Lord Chelsea's place in Paris, so the old favourites of fortune are sitting on the sunny side of the hedge.

Prince Esterhazy called upon me, and admitted the mistakes of the Austrian generals, but said that the troops fought heroically. The Emperor Francis crossed the Mincio, contrary to Marshal Hesse's advice. His army marched fifteen miles, fought for fourteen hours, and then marched back fifteen miles without tasting food, and under a burning sun. Many who were unwounded left the battle-field, lay down, and died from pure exhaustion.

July 8th.—This great heat is increasing. Fahrenheit stands at 90° in the shade by day, and 80° at night. The French and Austrians have agreed upon an armistice, in consequence of which Lords Stratford and Elcho will withdraw their resolutions tending to force the Government to keep peace. So it is saved. The demand for the armistice came from the French Emperor. I believe our Ministers telegraphed to tell him the danger they were in, should these motions be carried, as the effect would be, even if they were not turned out, to tie their hands and prevent their being of use to him during the recess. A very bad fever has broken out in the French army, and this, combined with his losses at Solferino, has obliged the Emperor to ask for an armistice. The request came from himself; it is to last till August 15. Another report is that the two Emperors are to settle everything between them without the interference of any other Power.

'Bear Ellice' is just returned from Paris, where he dined with M. Fould, and he says the French Ministers, now they have read my Blue-book, do me justice, and profess to be satisfied that I behaved impartially and fairly towards them.

July 10th.—I hear that the Emperor Napoleon and Cavour are quarrelling. The latter wants to annex everything to Sardinia, and the former will not agree, and is alarmed at the state of Romagna. The Pope threatens to excommunicate Victor Emanuel; the French clergy take the Pope's part, and it was with great difficulty that the Archbishop of Paris was persuaded to officiate at the *Te Deum* in honour of the battle of Solferino.

Madame Apponyi called. She said, respecting the armistice, that though it was Louis Napoleon who asked for it,

there were some things which made it advisable to grant it; but that no unreasonable concessions would be made, and quite scouted the line of the Adige, saying the Austrians would not give up the Quadrilateral. She spoke bitterly of the present Government, saying, when I mentioned that they promised neutrality, 'Elle est jolie, leur neutralité.'

July 11th.—Hotter than ever. Persigny called on me, and told me he thought there was a good chance of peace. The two Emperors were to have a conference this morning at nine. Louis Napoleon goes directly to Paris. He has issued an address to his army announcing his departure, and that Marshal Vaillant is to have the command in his absence. At the first shot he will return to them.

The thermometer is 97° Fahrenheit in the shade, and the French are devoured by flies and other insects.

July 12th.—I got a letter from Persigny announcing that peace was signed between the two Emperors, and the conditions, saying that the Emperor of Austria gives up Lombardy, to the line of the Mincio, to Louis Napoleon, who gives it to the King of Sardinia. This is a repetition of the 'Cagliari' story, and is humiliating to Sardinia, for in both cases the concession has not been made to her but to her protectors. In the 'Cagliari' case, the ship was given to England and made over by her to Sardinia. In this one, Lombardy has been conquered by France, who has assumed the whole glory of the campaign.

Parma, Modena, and Tuscany are restored to their former possessors, and the Pope is to be the head of an Italian Confederation, but this never can be carried out. Venice and its territories still belong to Austria, but are in

some way to be independent. This part I do not understand, and the whole arrangement must be very unsatisfactory to the Italians, who have every reason to think themselves sold; the more so that the French get Nice and Savoy, which are the most ancient of Victor Emanuel's family possessions.

July 13th.—A fresh breeze, which makes the heat more endurable, though 90° in the shade and 84° in the house. Everybody is laughing at the peace, particularly at the Pope's title of 'honorary president,' which is certainly absurd. The whole arrangement is astounding, as pretending to be a solution of the Italian question, and as giving independence to Italy. Lombardy, up to the Mincio, is annexed to Sardinia—not made a free State, as the Lombards wished, for they hate the Piedmontese. Modena, Parma, and Tuscany are forced to return to their allegiance and rejected sovereigns; and the Pope, whose territories are worse governed and more miserable than any part of Italy, is made honorary president over the whole confederation. And it is for this miserable humbug that a hundred thousand lives have been sacrificed.

Count Cavour has resigned in a rage at the way in which the Italians and his master have been sold, as he intended to have annexed the whole of Italy to Sardinia. He is especially furious at Louis Napoleon annexing Savoy.[1] It is said a very angry scene took place between them, and that Cavour was so violent and insolent in his language,

[1] This fury of Cavour at the cession of Savoy was the consummation of his histrionic powers. He had promised it to Louis Napoleon ever since their meeting at Plombières two years before, and it was in fact the condition of the Emperor's assistance.

that the Emperor threatened to have him arrested, when he replied, 'Arrêtez-moi, et vous serez forcé de retourner en France par le Tyrol.'

July 16th.—We went to the banquet given to the late Ministers at Merchant Taylors' Hall; very splendid. Lord Derby made a fine speech. Disraeli followed; after which my health was proposed.

July 20th.—The papers give an account of Louis Napoleon's reception at Turin, which was a very cold one, he and the King entering the town together in an open carriage. The latter was cheered, but there was not a single cry of 'Viva l'Imperatore!' or 'Viva la Francia!' Cavour, who was alone in the next carriage, was received with showers of nosegays. The Emperor left the following morning at 6 o'clock, arriving at St. Cloud at 8.30 P.M. next day.

July 21st.—Persigny came to give me the account of how the peace was brought about. M. de Persigny, after the armistice, by the Emperor's order, went to Lord Palmerston and said that the time was come for mediation, and suggested conditions—namely, Venice and its territories to be taken from Austria, not annexed to Sardinia, but made into a separate and independent state. There were other conditions, but this was the principal one. That Lord Palmerston agreed to this, and rode down to Richmond to tell Lord John Russell, who was equally delighted; and that the proposal was adopted by them and sent to the Queen, who was at Aldershot, which occasioned some delay. That Her Majesty refused her consent, saying the time was not come

yet to make these proposals, as the fortresses were not taken. That, however, in the meantime, Persigny had telegraphed the consent of the English Government to his master, who immediately asked for an interview with the Emperor of Austria, showed him Persigny's despatch, saying, 'Here are the conditions proposed by England and agreed to also by Prussia. Now listen to mine, which, though those of an enemy, are much more favourable. So let us settle everything together, without reference to the neutral Powers, whose conditions are not nearly so advantageous to you as those I am ready to grant.'

The Emperor of Austria, not suspecting any reservation, and not knowing that the Queen had refused her consent to these proposals, which, though agreed to by her Government, were suggested by Persigny evidently to give his master the opportunity of outbidding us, and making Francis Joseph think that he was thrown over by England and Prussia, accepted the offer, and peace was instantly concluded.

Louis Napoleon in his speech to the Senate and Chamber, who waited upon him at St. Cloud, acknowledged fairly that he could not have taken the fortresses, if at all, without too great a sacrifice of life, and also that it would have entailed a general war and revolution all over Europe.

I think it right in this place to interrupt my diary, and, passing over two years for a time, to relate a conversation which I had with Napoleon III., on the subject of my tenure of the Foreign Office, previous to and after the war in Italy.

The Emperor entertained throughout Lord Derby's administration of 1858–9 a real or pretended conviction,

encouraged by Walewski and the English ex-Ministers, that we were irreconcilably hostile to the liberation of Italy, and to the French Government, which had determined to effect it, as far as concerned the Northern part. It was therefore that, being on a tour through France in 1861, I wrote to Persigny from Tours to say that I should be soon at Paris, and wished to have an audience of the Emperor. To this his Majesty consented. I had not seen him since Cherbourg, where I attended the Queen in August 1858, and when I found him still resenting our coming into office upon the question which arose from Orsini's attempt on his life. The House of Commons had refused to pass Lord Palmerston's bill to alter the law under which Dr. Bernard was to be tried as an accomplice, and Lord Palmerston had resigned in consequence. Since then, being at the head of the Foreign Office, I received various hints from the Emperor's Ambassadors that he considered our party hostile to himself, and all my attempts to check his interference with Lombardy had confirmed his dislike. Palmerston and his then slave, Persigny, with all their following, male and female, both in London and Paris, aggravated the Emperor's prejudices to such an absurd degree as to make him believe that I was getting up a *German coalition* against him. These impressions, I knew, remained; and my object was to remove them for the sake of the two countries, should the Conservatives again return to power.

He received me on April 6, at two P.M., in a room on the ground floor, opening out of the central pavilion of the Tuileries. I told him why I wished for an interview, and he said it was quite true that my party had behaved to him in the most hostile manner, but that he did not wish to go over the past. I insisted on doing so, and told him that, on

Bernard's affair, when we first came into office, Persigny was so excited with the defeat of Lord Palmerston and his quarrels with Walewski, that I never could have a moment's reasonable conversation with him, or get any notion of his Majesty's ideas; that when Pélissier came we all liked him, but that never once could I have an open and argumentative discussion with him on any points of policy, as he apparently had no information or orders from Paris, so that, in fact, for the fifteen months I was Foreign Secretary, I never had a chance of personally holding frank communication with *any* French Ambassador. As to planning a *German* coalition against him, I said my despatches were printed and extant, to prove that it was our Government who had prevented the Prussians and other German States from joining Austria when he and his allies crossed the Ticino. He was very much struck with this statement, and said: 'It is always so, when one hears from one's Ministers at the small Courts, as I did this from the Court at Saxe-Weimar.'

The Emperor then held forth on the hatred of the aristocracy in England and of the Press against himself, though he believed that the people had no such feeling. He abused our suspicious fears and useless preparations. I replied that no man could astonish the world as he had done lately by his performances in Italy, without frightening it also, and that all we did was for defensive purposes.

His Majesty was as abusive and evidently as ignorant of the nature and power of the English Press as I had always found him, exaggerating both its vices and its influence. He was much out of humour with Lord Palmerston's Government, which suspected all he did, and was always complaining of his building ships, and he ridiculed it as childish. 'Let each build what he considers the right number; you

ought to have twice as many as I, as they are your principal protection.'

He confessed he did not know what to do with the Pope, who, though defended and protected by him, harboured his enemies under his own flag, meaning the French Royalists.

He then plunged into the history and results of the Lombard war.

'When I determined to support the Piedmontese in the event of Austria crossing the Ticino, and saw Cavour in 1858, it was agreed between us that France should expel the Austrians from the *whole* North of Italy, and that the Piedmontese should pay the cost. At the battle of Solferino the French victory left my army very short of ammunition, with a loss of 17,000 of its prime troops, 150 miles from my base of operations, and with fever, still more fatal than the battle, raging in its ranks. I could not advance, and my retreat must have been through a *hostile* country, as the Italian peasants east of Milan were strongly for the Austrians. Fortunately for myself and the shattered Italian army, I obtained the Peace of Villafranca; but Cavour, who is no soldier, and either did not or would not comprehend the situation, was furious, and declared that the Piedmontese Government, as I had not fulfilled my covenant by conquering Venetia, was not bound to pay the expenses of the war. It was impossible for me to return to Paris with a loss of 50,000 of my soldiers, and ask the French to pay 30,000,000*l.* without any equivalent. There would have been one in the glory and political and national influence of my victories if Piedmont paid the cost; but as that was refused, I was obliged to take the material compensation of annexing Savoy, which might be considered by France to be worth the price of her men and money.'

Such was the Emperor's account to me of this great transaction; and no doubt the Piedmontese Government found it easier to pay in territory than in cash, and were in reality better pleased with the bargain, for, besides this, they eventually annexed Modena and Tuscany to Turin.

The following is the circular addressed in a despatch to Her Majesty's representatives at the German Courts, a copy of which was sent to Paris but *which the Emperor never saw*, and which I therefore subsequently gave to the Duke of Hamilton, who showed it him to prove that our Government had done all they could to localise the Italian war and prevent a general one.

Foreign Office: May 2, 1859.

Sir,—I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government witness with great anxiety the disposition shown by the States of Germany to enter at once into a contest with France. Her Majesty's Government cannot perceive that at the present moment Germany has any grounds for declaring war against that Power, and still less would the Confederation, in their opinion, be justified in prematurely adopting any course which would bring on a European war.

It is desirable, however, that the Governments of Germany should entertain no doubt as to the course which in such a case Her Majesty's Government would pursue, and therefore you will explicitly state to the Government to which you are accredited that if Germany should at present, and without a *casus fœderis*, be so ill-advised as to provoke a war with France, and should, without any sufficient cause, make general a war which on every account ought, if possible, to be localised, Her Majesty's Government determine to maintain a strict neutrality, can give to Germany no assistance, nor contribute by the interposition of the naval forces of this country to protect her coast from hostile attack.

The elections now proceeding afford an undeniable test of public feeling on this point, and it may be said to be the only one in which the English people appear to be at the present moment absorbed. That Germany should arm and prepare for eventualities is natural and right, but in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government no act has as yet been committed by France against Germany, and no

treaty obligation subsists which justifies her to provoke an attack on her own territory or an invasion of France. I am, &c.

MALMESBURY.

Both Count Walewski and I had received intelligence that the whole of the Prussian army was to be mobilised in consequence of the strong feeling in Germany against France.

July 23*rd.*—Louis Napoleon is evidently alarmed at the results which the peace may have for him, as he loses no occasion for giving explanations; but all he says appears to me to make the matter worse. In his speech to the Diplomatic Body he said Europe was so unjust to him that he was compelled to conclude the peace to show his moderation and his wish not to engage Europe in a general war. The tone of this speech was considered so unsatisfactory that the Funds fell directly.

August 5*th.*—Sir John Burgoyne, who had paid us a visit at Heron Court to survey the site of Hengistbury Head for military defences, left.

August 11*th.*—Left London for Achnacarry. We travelled all the way by land.

September 1*st.*—I went to the Forest of Gusach, killing three good stags. I was obliged to help to carry them down the hill, so that I did not get home till ten o'clock.

September 5*th.*—The Tuscans have offered the sovereignty of Tuscany to Victor Emanuel, who declines giving a positive answer, saying that he would willingly accept their

offer, but must first consult European Powers, and hints at a Congress.

September 16th.—Accounts from China very sad, and, if true, Mr. Bruce is to blame. It is reported in a private letter published by the 'Times' that the Chinese authorities sent word that the Peiho was blocked up, and no ships of war would be allowed to go up to Pekin; but that if they went by another road farther north, they would be received. Mr. Bruce determined to force the passage in spite of this warning, and a disastrous defeat has been the result. Admiral Hope never sent any reconnaissance, so that he was ignorant of the erection of the batteries, which were carefully masked. He then landed the crews of the gun-boats without knowing the nature of the ground. The men floundered through a deep morass, their ammunition got wet, they were unable to take scaling-ladders, and after a hard struggle, under a heavy fire, found themselves close to the walls of the battery without the means of defence or attack; but not a man thought of retreating until orders were sent from the rear, when they retired with great reluctance, carrying off all their wounded, among whom was Admiral Hope himself.

September 19th.—Duke of Manchester's servants arrived, bringing the news that the Duke and Duchess had reached Tomadown, and, being unable to procure ponies, had started on foot across the mountains. They had no guide and no gillies, so we could not help fearing that they had either lost their way or that the Duchess had knocked up and been unable to proceed, for they started at eleven and ought to have arrived by five. I immediately sent off ponies, and Mr.

Bidwell went with them; but returned saying he had gone three miles along Glen Keich to a point where he could see five miles along the road to Glengarry, and with the exception of a stag, which he put up, there was not a living creature visible. Upon this I despatched John Macdonald, the stalker, though one might as well look for a boat in the Atlantic as search for anybody in these wild hills. We therefore remained very anxious until nine o'clock, when we heard the door-bell ring. We all rushed into the hall, and the Duke and Duchess were gladly welcomed by the whole party. They had walked the whole way from Tomadown, mistook the path, and found themselves overlooking Loch Lochy, eight miles from Achnacarry. They descended Clunes with great difficulty and some danger, and came along the shore of the lake, where there is a safe road. It was a most imprudent expedition.

September 30th.—Lady Chesterfield and Lady Evelyn Stanhope arrived. The former caught several *salmo ferox* in Loch Arkaig.

October 6th.—Sir James Hudson arrived yesterday, and to-day went out and killed an enormous stag in Gerraran, not getting home until eleven at night. The wind was contrary, and so strong that the men could not pull down the lake against it, and were obliged to beach the boat in a sheltered place, and walk eight miles along the shore. News of Lord Jersey's death, on the 3rd, at above eighty.

October 10th.—Sir James Hudson went to Glen Kamachray, intending to sleep at the shepherd's hut in order to be on his ground early the following day.

October 11*th.*—Sir James returned for dinner, having killed nothing, and gave a very amusing account of his night at the bothy. He said there were seven men, five dogs, three women, and a cat in two small rooms, more like hen-coops than rooms, and only three beds for the whole party. The maid-of-all-work asked him with whom he would like to sleep, and he answered that if he couldn't sleep with her he would prefer Macoll, the stalker. The latter, however, replied, 'Methinks you had better sleep alone.' So Sir James had a bed to himself, as far as I know.

October 15*th.*—Mr. Ogle, the photographer, arrived, and made some excellent photographs of the beautiful scenery here and of our party. The cold is intense, and we are buried in snow.

October 20*th.*—A heavy snowstorm came on, lasting all day. The mountains in all directions are covered with snow. The newspapers announce that a treaty of peace has been signed between France and Austria at Zürich, but there is to be a Congress, in which the five Great Powers join.

October 21*st.*—News of Lord Westmoreland's death arrived. I went to the Pine Forest and had it driven. The twelve-pointer, *alias* 'the enchanted stag,' came out, and stood staring at the beaters several minutes at not more than ten paces, but I did not get a shot. The Highlanders are more than ever convinced that the life of this enormous beast is charmed. Saw a flock of wild swans going south—a broad hint to me to do the same.

October 25*th.*—I beat the woods of Auchnasoul, and killed

six woodcocks, twelve blackcocks, also the stag whose leg I broke two days ago. This good day's sport and luck has closed my connection with Achnacarry, which has lasted for fifteen years of the prime of my life. I rowed home from Moich with a heavy heart. Loch Arkaig was motionless, and of the colour of obsidian. The sun, after a bright day, had set behind a heavy mass of clouds, against which the mountains of Scaurnahat and Murligan looked ghastly in their garments of snow, whilst the northern slopes and corries of the Pine Forest retained every flake that had fallen. The stags, as is usual in a hard frost, were roaring with redoubled passion in the wilds of Gusach and Gerraran. The herons were screaming as I disturbed them from their shelter in the islands; and then again the roaring of the harts re-echoed through the forest. As I landed at the pier, a freezing mist fell over the whole scene, and thus we parted. *Vale!*

November 4th, Chillingham.—Lord Wemyss told me today that Lord Elcho had seen a letter from Louis Napoleon to M. de Flahault, saying that he still was attached to the English alliance more than to any other, but that the feeling in France was getting too strong for him to resist it.

November 11th.—The dinner at the Mansion House on the 9th was a very flat affair. Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell were both absent—the former at Windsor, the latter ill. Sir G. C. Lewis made some sort of speech on foreign affairs, the only important point being that England had received no invitation to the Congress. None of the foreign Ministers were present, except the Turkish Ambassador, which probably Lord Palmerston knew would be the case, and paid them in the same coin.

November 16th.—My ex-private secretary, Bidwell, is gone to Australia for his health.

We went to Windsor, where we were invited. The party at the Castle consists of Prince and Princess Frederick William of Prussia, Prince Hohenzollern, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Herbert, Countess Blücher, the Duchess of Athole, Count Perponcher, &c. Prince Albert told me that Balmoral was the driest place in Great Britain. Only sixteen inches of rain fell during the year, whilst in Glasgow they have an average of sixty-two, and in London twenty-five.

November 18th.—Returned to London.

November 26th.—Lord Cowley called on me, and told me that he distrusted the Emperor, and has urged the Government not to relax in their preparations. Louis Napoleon is in very bad health, and though he has lost his energy he has become restless, and it is impossible to know what he will do next.

November 27th.—I hear that neither Lord John Russell nor Lord Clarendon will go to the Congress. It will be held in Paris, and may last six months. The former could not well go if he wished it.

December 2nd.—I returned from Buckenham, Mr. Baring's place in Norfolk. Mrs. Baring is French, a daughter of the Duc de Bassano. Jem Macdonald[1] was there in great spirits, and, as usual, the soul of the party.

The reported bombardment of Tetuan is untrue. What happened is this: a French line-of-battle ship approached

[1] General Macdonald, A.D.C. to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, died 1882.

too near a small mud fort at the entrance of the river, and was fired at by the fort, but it is doubtful whether the guns were shotted. The captain did not return the fire, but joined the French squadron for orders, and, returning the next day with four ships of war, destroyed the fort—an outrage.

December 4th.—The Duke of Somerset called and told me that Lord Palmerston was not going to the Congress, and they had great difficulty in finding a proper person.

December 8th.—Lord Derby says he will not support Lord Grey's amendment to the Address, but will vote for the loan for the national defences, and for a 10*l.* franchise for the counties, and 8*l.* for boroughs.

1860

January 1st.—The principal news is that Lord Palmerston has agreed to a 6*l.* franchise, and has determined to dissolve Parliament if beaten. It remains to be seen whether the Queen will consent to this.

Persigny is in Paris, intriguing to get rid of Walewski, and to try to prevent our party coming to office. He is completely managed by Lord Palmerston, and the two together do all they can to persuade the Emperor that the Tories are opposed to him. The person who gave me this information said that if we came in again the Emperor means to ask for me as Ambassador at Paris. I told him honestly I should refuse.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

Knowsley: January 15, 1860.

My dear Malmesbury,—I return the well-known handwriting enclosed in your letter of the 13th. The information there given tallies with what I have received from other quarters, among others from Madame de Flahault, whom I met at Bretby. The offer of a commercial treaty was, however, coupled, though she did not tell me so, with the proposal of an alliance, *offensive* and *defensive*, with France, and a joint guarantee of the independence of Central Italy! Cowley came here specially to urge the adoption of these two measures; but my latest intelligence is that they were debated in the Cabinet on Tuesday last, strenuously urged by Palmerston and J. Russell, who had confidently assured the Emperor of their success, acquiesced in by Gladstone by the double inducement of his Italomania and his Free Trade policy, but, on discussion, rejected by a majority of the Cabinet![1] This, if true, and I am assured it is, is very damaging to Palmerston, and will be both embarrassing and irritating to the Emperor. It is added, and not improbably, that the Court has had a good deal to do with the Cabinet decision.

Ever yours sincerely,

DERBY.

January 22nd.—Captain Harrison, of the 'Great Eastern,' was drowned yesterday morning at the entrance of the Southampton Docks in crossing from Hythe in a gig with a lug-sail. It was blowing a hurricane. The 'Great Eastern' is a most unlucky ship, and I remember saying, when I heard the ridiculous way in which people boasted that such a ship had never been built before, that we had at last overcome the power of the waves, and no one would be sea-sick, that such language was a defiance of fate. The event has proved it. The first mishap was in launching her, when she stuck fast

[1] This monstrous policy is confirmed in Mr. Ashley's *Life of Palmerston*. If this is a true account, the *Court* showed its wisdom. What would have been our position in 1870 if we had had an offensive and defensive alliance with France?

and it took six weeks to get her to move, and an additional expenditure of 70,000*l.* The disappointment and excitement killed Brunel, the celebrated engineer. When she started on her trial trip, she nearly went ashore at Greenwich. On arriving at the Nore one of her boilers burst, killing several men, and people became so distrustful about her that she could get no passengers, and was laid up for the winter at Southampton. Now she has reached the climax of misfortune by the death of Captain Harrison, a very clever seaman and gentlemanlike man.

January 24th.—Lord Grey means to propose an amendment to the Address about the Chinese war. We shall not vote with him, but intend to express our opinion of Mr. Bruce's conduct in that country. Disraeli is against the loan for the national defences. If he opposes it in Parliament he is done for, both with his party and the country. There is a very strong feeling in favour of it. There is a hitch in the commercial treaty, and the 'Times' is writing against it.

January 25th.—The Queen opened Parliament yesterday —the longest Speech ever known, and abominably written. Debate dull and flat. Lord Derby praised the volunteers, Lord Canning, Admiral Hope, and the seamen who fought so gallantly in the unfortunate attack on the Peiho; but he reserved his opinion upon Mr. Bruce and upon other subjects mentioned in the Speech, one of which was the commercial treaty.

February 3rd, Heron Court.—Lord and Lady Somerton, Mr. and Lady Rose Lovell, and Lord Seymour arrived; also Mr. A. Lane and Major Nevill. The latter is the second son

of Lady Georgina Nevill, Lord Lucan's sister. He is in the Austrian army, and was aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief in the late war, Gyulai. He said that nothing could be worse than the Austrian generals, and that Gyulai himself had been named to the command by the influence of the Jesuits, whom he toadied. Hesse very old and worn out; Benedek good, but in a subordinate position. We passed a very merry evening.

Lord M. to Lord Derby.

Heron Court: February 6, 1860.

My dear Derby,—I am much obliged to you for your note, and I will come up on Tuesday. I was going to London on Wednesday for a meeting which Colville has called on the subject of our party press. My impression was that we would take no part in what is going on abroad, and that any connection with Normanby and his moves would rather bring down odium (not to say ridicule) on our party. All he does is in a strong *Codino* spirit, in which neither you nor I have any sympathy, and our traducers wish for nothing more than to identify us with that bigoted and unpopular set. As to our coming into office, I confess I have the strongest repugnance to do so upon our *former* basis, twice tried, and twice with the same result—namely, ten or twelve months of sufferance, then a beating, then a dissolution, and then an ejection. Personally, none of us can desire to play so disagreeable a *rôle* once more with the same play and the same parts, and still less can we wish it for the good of the country. It is, therefore, with great satisfaction I hear you say that we must help to keep these cripples on their legs.

Ever yours sincerely,

MALMESBURY.

February 7th.—Lord Derby has written to me to come to London for Lord Normanby's motion about Savoy and Nice.

February 8th.—The debate was good, Lord Derby speaking beautifully. Lord Normanby withdrew his motion, but

it gave the House an opportunity to show their feeling on the question of the annexation of Savoy and Nice to France, and it was evident that the great majority, if not the whole House, was against France. There is a great outcry against the treaty, which, I believe, was signed by France and Sardinia for the cession of Savoy on January 18, 1859, and that Marshal Niel signed it for France.

Lord Clarendon to Lord M.

Grosvenor Crescent: February 8, 1860.

My dear Malmesbury,—I think you ought to see the enclosed, which I received this morning. The commercial treaty is, in my opinion, thoroughly unsound, and a great mistake; but I am sure that rejecting it, making an enemy of the Emperor by delighting his foes and displeasing his friends in France, would be a far greater mistake for all concerned in it. Pray return the letter.

Ever yours sincerely,

CLARENDON.

February 9th.—Persigny is furious at the debate on Savoy in the House of Lords, and I suppose he will be more so if he knows that the petition from Chambéry, addressed to the English people against the annexation, was sent to the newspapers by Lord Derby, to whom it had been addressed by the petitioners.

February 15th.—I went down with Lord Derby to Heron Court after the Levée. We hastened home and caught the three o'clock train after changing our dress—quick work! Lord Derby was in great spirits about his last meeting, which was fully attended, and he seems ready to come in again.

Lord John Russell to Lord M.

Chesham Place: February 15, 1860.

My dear Lord,—I see in the 'Times' and 'Daily News' of this morning that you are represented to have said that I had stated in

the House of Commons that Mr. Bruce, in forçing the passage of the Peiho, had acted exactly according to his instructions. It is always dangerous to rely on reports of what passes in another House of Parliament, and perhaps you never made the remarks I have mentioned. With regard to myself, however, it is due to you to state what I did say.

I said that Mr. Bruce by his instructions was ordered to go to the mouth of the Peiho with a sufficient force, and I read to the House of Commons the words of your instructions. But I said the case of resistance by force to his proceeding up the river in a friendly manner was not contemplated by those instructions, though I did not blame you for the omission. I said that consequently Mr. Bruce found himself with a considerable naval force at the mouth of the Peiho, in face of probable resistance, without instructions.

That no case could be more embarrassing, for, if he returned, he would be blamed for retreating before a force which in the past year had been easily overcome, and if he advanced he ran the risk of the defeat and repulse he had actually experienced.

That no situation could be more embarrassing, nor could anyone pretend to say what Mr. Bruce should have done, having *no instructions* for such a case.

I think I did justice both to your Lordship and to Mr. Bruce. I am sure I meant to do so.—Yours, &c. J. RUSSELL.

February 16th.—Gloomy day, with a high gale. We went out and shot over the rivers, killing sixty head of wild-fowl. Sidney Herbert seems determined to abolish the place of Commander-in-Chief, and to put the army under the House of Commons. If so, the Queen has every right to be indignant at this interference with the rights of the Crown. Nothing will dissuade him from the plan.

February 21st.—The Government had a majority of 63 on Mr. Disraeli's amendment to discuss the treaty before the Budget. Lord Palmerston lost his temper and made a most angry speech.

February 29th.—The Government will carry their Budget. Lord John has declared what we all along suspected, though Lord Palmerston never would give a straightforward answer—namely, that though Parliament may alter any article of the Budget or treaty, yet that any alteration may cancel the whole, as the Emperor, of course, will not be bound by them. It is cleverly managed, but in a very underhand way.

March 4th.—It is now certain that the Emperor means to annex Savoy and Nice without the sanction of the other Great Powers. He now says that he merely meant that he would explain to them his reasons for doing so, but he evidently intends to listen to no objections. The subject was alluded to in the House of Commons, and Sir Robert Peel spoke against the annexation, upon which Bright got up and made the most un-English speech ever heard in Parliament. He was answered in an eloquent and spirited one by Lord John Manners. Mr. Kinglake has given notice that he will move an Address to the Queen condemning the annexation.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

St. James's Square: March 5, 1860.

My dear Malmesbury,—I have received your précis books, which with the other volumes I will keep safely till I have an opportunity of returning them to you here. I do not think we shall do any good by moving for the papers of 1852, but we shall be quite justified in stating, if necessary, the positive assurances which we had from Louis Napoleon previous to our recognition, not of the Empire, but of the numeral. He does not, however, deny these assurances, but rests his demand of Savoy on the readjustment which is taking place of the territorial limits of Northern Italy. The plea is futile enough; but it relieves him from the necessity of denying his former engagements, while it leaves him free, in his own mind, to dispense with them. There is likely to be a very interesting discussion in the Commons to-night on the

Address; and from what I hear I think it is likely that Savoy may again be brought on the *tapis* by Sir Robert Peel, and possibly a motion made by some outsider, if not by him, for the addition of words condemnatory of the proposed annexation. There may, however, be a preliminary discussion as to the effect which the adoption or rejection of the Address would have on the treaty, of which a word by-and-by. Meanwhile Palmerston is unwell, threatened with an attack of gout; John Russell very much out of humour, and on very bad terms with the Emperor, who complains that he has not been properly defended by the Government, the truth being, as I believe, that J. Russell and Palmerston are on different tacks—the first opposed to the projects of France, and fancying that he is supporting the cause of Liberal Sardinia; the second hampered by private engagements contracted with the Emperor before his accession to office, which he is afraid either to repudiate or avow.

I saw Lord Chelmsford yesterday, and had a long conversation with him on the subject of Grey's suggestions. I agree with you that we ought not to attempt by a vote of the House of Lords to set aside the French treaty, objectionable as I think it; and our course will require careful consideration, after the elucidation which we shall receive from to-night's debate in the Commons. Lord Chelmsford remains firm in the opinion, which is shared by Cairns and Kelly, that although the passing of the Customs Acts by Parliament may be held to be such an assent as the treaty requires to the commercial articles, the eleventh article, that on coal, cannot be sanctioned but by an Act of Parliament. The Queen, under an Act of Parliament, has the power of prohibiting the export of certain articles, or rather of articles which she may deem to come under certain conditions; and she has no power to divest herself of that which Parliament has given her for the security of the country by any contract with a foreign Power, except under the same authority of an Act of Parliament. If this be so, the Address is an unmeaning form, unnecessary for the commercial object, valueless for the political; and it may be adopted or rejected without in the least degree affecting the treaty. If the Government contend successfully that the Address is such a signification of the Parliamentary assent as is required by the treaty, and is necessary as a supplement to commercial legislation, I should pause before I took the responsibility of attempting to reject it; and in

that case I would wish to carry my opposition no farther than would enable me to record a protest, if the forms of the House will allow me, against the Address, that is, against the terms of the treaty. But my final decision must be influenced by what may take place to-night in the Commons. In any case, we ought to have one good debate in our House, embracing the treaty, the Budget, and Savoy. They ought not to be frittered away in separate discussions. This may come on, if the Commons pass the Address to-night, as early as Thursday or Friday. I am not disposed to fight for delay, as I do not want a division.—Yours sincerely,

DERBY.

March 8th.—The papers give Cavour's answers to the Emperor's proposals, which were to annex Parma and Modena to Sardinia, to govern Romagna under the Pope, and to leave Tuscany an independent State; and in case of a refusal of these propositions, he threatens to withdraw his army, and leave the King of Sardinia and the Italians to fight their own battles as well as they can. Cavour has refused—a bold, not to say a most rash and imprudent step; but with him it is *tout ou rien—per fas aut nefas.*

Mr. Kinglake to Lord M.

12 St. James's Place: March 9, 1860.

Dear Lord Malmesbury,—I never made any communication to your Lordship personally, but I conveyed the intelligence privately to Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, who then represented the Foreign Office in the House of Commons.

What passed was as follows: About this time last year I received a communication from Turin disclosing the scheme for the annexation to France of Savoy and Nice, and it came to me from such a quarter that I could not doubt its truth. In the then state of Europe I did not think it prudent to state the intelligence publicly in the House, but I thought the knowledge of it might be useful to Her Majesty's Government. Lord Palmerston agreed with me that it would be right to communicate it to the Government, but he suggested that the best way to do this would be by speaking to Seymour Fitzgerald. I accordingly told Seymour Fitzgerald that I

wished to speak to him, and after indicating the grounds on which I believed my information to be accurate, I read to him twice over the words of which the enclosed paper is a copy. He seemed to be impressed and much interested. I begged him to remember that the paper signed by the Emperor was a 'pacte de famille,' and *not* a 'treaty.' This took place in the month of March of last year as well as I can recollect.

I trust that this statement will convey to your Lordship, with sufficient clearness, the information you desired to receive.

Yours, &c. A. W. KINGLAKE.

[ENCLOSURE.—'On the evening before the marriage with the Princess Clothilde, a paper was signed by the Emperor of the French which was called a "Pacte de famille" (not a treaty or convention), promising aid, offensive and defensive, to Sardinia, the King on his side promising Savoy and Nice in return for whatever possessions he may gain in Lombardy. The paper was signed by Walewski.']

March 16th.—Went to the House of Lords for the debate on the Address for the treaty. The debate was a very fine one. The Address was seconded by Lord Cork. Lord Grey then made a fine speech, objecting to it. Lord Wodehouse answered him, and then I was followed by Lord de Grey.[1] Lord Overstone spoke against the treaty. Lord Grey persisted in dividing the House, though Lord Derby asked him to abstain from doing so. The division took place, and the Government had a majority of 30.

March 17th.—Naples is in a dreadful state. The tyranny of the present King far exceeds that of his father, and the exasperation is so great that a revolution may take place at any moment. But events in the North of Italy have much to say to these feelings, and naturally encourage the Neapolitans to imitate them.

Lord John last night in the House of Commons an-

[1] Now Marquis of Ripon and Viceroy of India.

nounced that he had read a very important despatch written by M. de Thouvenel to Persigny relating to Savoy, that he had not yet laid it before the Cabinet, but when he had done so, and was in a position to answer it, he would lose no time in laying the despatch on the table of the House. This statement produced an extraordinary sensation amongst the occupants of the Treasury Bench, for it is contrary to all rule that the Foreign Minister should announce to either House the receipt of a despatch before his colleagues have seen it.

March 19th.—The Municipality of Nice has protested against the annexation, and sent a deputation to Turin to lay their petition before the King, asking to form an independent State if it should be necessary to separate them from Sardinia.

March 23rd.—Lady Derby and Lady Edward Thynne called, and both said that there has been a secret correspondence between the Emperor and Lord Palmerston, and it was said in the House of Commons the night that Lord John Russell mentioned M. de Thouvenel's despatch, adding that he had not yet shown it to his colleagues, that he had discovered Lord Palmerston's correspondence, and was so angry that he did this out of revenge. The Emperor seems to have betrayed Palmerston's confidence, for all Paris is talking of these letters, and expressing their astonishment at such a transaction. Louis Napoleon has evidently done this to revenge himself for the Government's not being as subservient about the Savoy business as he expected; and it is easy to understand now why the Ministers were so eager to please him about the treaty, in hopes, probably, that he would overlook their remonstrances on the

annexation of Savoy, which the tone of the Houses of Parliament obliged them to make. It is evident from their desperate attempts to silence all discussion that they were very anxious not to interfere with the Emperor's projects. The annexation of Savoy, together with the neutral States of Chablais and Faucigny, which is now a *fait accompli*, has shaken the confidence of the people in the Government. There is a *bon mot* of the Princess Clothilde on this subject which is worth recording. Alluding to the transfer of Savoy to France and her own unwelcome marriage, she said: 'Quand on a vendu l'enfant, on peut bien vendre le berceau.'

March 26th.—Lord John Russell made a violent speech against Louis Napoleon last night in the House of Commons, and said that England must not sacrifice the alliances of the rest of Europe for the sake of France. I hear that Persigny was in the House and was in a dreadful state, exclaiming: 'Quel langage! Faut-il entendre de pareilles choses contre mon maître? C'est à ne pas y tenir!' Lady Palmerston told Lady Tankerville that they are dreadfully afraid of Louis Napoleon—that she believed he had promised to allow Russia to take Constantinople, had promised Saxony to Prussia, and meant to take Belgium for himself; but this is not credible.

Hon. E. A. J. Harris to Lord M. (on the annexation of Savoy).

Berne: March 26, 1860.

Dear Malmesbury,— . . . I wrote to you on October 15, 1858, officially the first intimation of this business which I received from the Swiss President, sending it under flying seal to Lord Cowley, and calling his attention to it in a separate despatch. The rumour was not believed at the time. I again wrote to you officially on the subject May 7, 1859. Neither of these has been comprised in the published despatches.

I do not believe in the *signed* 'Pacte de famille.' I think there was a verbal understanding between Louis Napoleon and Cavour in the autumn of 1858 at Biarritz. This verbal understanding was repeated between Cavour and Walewski in January 1859, but they kept clear of written agreements in order to be able to say, 'There has been no treaty, agreement, &c., to cede, &c., &c.' But it was a compact between the giant and the dwarf in the fable from which the results followed which might have been anticipated.

. . . . . .

Ever your affectionate brother,

E. A. J. HARRIS.

March 30th.—I dined at the Palace yesterday. The Prince told me that Louis Napoleon had given them hopes that he would not annex Chablais and Faucigny, but that the Queen had received the news that the Emperor had sent for Lord Cowley, and had told him that he regretted very much being unable to keep his promise, but that Benedetti had made a mistake in drawing up the treaty, and it could not now be altered. I observed that it was of course easy to judge of events after they had occurred, but I could not understand why, when the Government became aware of the Emperor's intention to annex Savoy, they did not immediately apply to the Great Powers to join in a protest with England against the annexation. His Royal Highness answered, 'Of course they ought to have done so.'

March 31st.—Lord Grey brought on the question of China, and I was obliged to speak, as Lord Derby is at Knowsley.

April 2nd.—At the Duchess of Somerset's party Lord Palmerston came up to me when I was talking to Lord Wodehouse, and shook hands in a very friendly manner, saying: 'Are you two settling the affairs of Europe?' and

continued talking. Whilst the conversation was going on, Persigny passed and hardly bowed to Lord Palmerston. He afterwards came to me and abused the Government and Lord John for his speech on the 26th; adding, what was perfectly true, that his threat of making other alliances was most imprudent, and, of course, would oblige the Emperor to do the same. He concluded, 'Et c'est déjà fait.'

There is a report that the Persignys are to return to Paris. He had a serious quarrel with Lady Palmerston at Countess Apponyi's a few days ago, lost his temper and all control, abusing her and Lord Palmerston in an audible voice. He was obliged afterwards to make an apology, but after such a scene he will probably be replaced.

M. de la Rive has arrived from Switzerland. He says that they are in a state of great alarm for their independence, as Louis Napoleon is now intriguing with the Catholic party at Geneva to get them to ask to be annexed to France, and if half a dozen rascals can be found to do it, he will call that the 'voice of the people,' and seize Geneva at once. The part of the Channel fleet which was at Lisbon was telegraphed for after Lord John Russell's speech.

April 14*th*.—It rained, snowed, and hailed at intervals all through the day, with north-east wind and fog. This sort of weather has now lasted six months.

April 16*th*.—It is said that the Emperor has offered Mr. Whitworth 10,000*l*. a year for life if he will come to France and manufacture his newly-invented cannon for him exclusively, and Mr. Whitworth has had the patriotism to refuse.

April 19th.—A debate in the House of Lords on the Reform Bill, on Lord Grey's motion for a Committee.

Madame Bernstorff told me that Persigny said to her before he went to Paris, 'Je vous jure, par tout ce qu'il y a de plus sacré, par la tête de mes enfants (et vous savez comme j'aime mes enfants), que l'Empereur n'a pas de vues ambitieuses. Il ne désire et ne veut rien, et il ne prendrait rien si on le lui offrait.' M. d'Azeglio told Lady Malmesbury that he believed the report of the Emperor being in bad health. D'Azeglio also said Persigny had made him a terrible scene, accusing him 'de faire la propagande' in England against the annexation of Savoy. He added that it was an unjust accusation, as he had known for a long time that Cavour intended to give up Savoy to France. This last assertion is certainly true, as he always held it out as a bait to Louis Napoleon, though he pretended to be furious when the event happened.

May 3rd.—At the fancy ball at the Hôtel d'Albe, the Princess Mathilde was, I hear, dressed as an Indian, and had had her skin dyed brown. Her dress was of the scantiest, very *décolletée*, her arms bare up to the shoulders, with a narrow band by way of sleeve, fastened with a brooch. The body was slit under the arm to the waist, showing the skin. The drapery behind was transparent, which she was probably not aware of, as she had not dyed her skin in that particular place, and the effect was awful.

May 7th.—The Government are on very bad terms with France. The Emperor told Lord Cowley that he could no longer curb his people if England did not change her line of policy. This accounts for the gloomy looks of the Govern-

ment in the House of Lords, and their request to postpone the discussion on Savoy, which was to have taken place to-day.

May 9th.—Concert at the Palace, where the heat was so great that several ladies fainted, as did Mr. Dallas, the American Minister. Sidney Herbert was very cordial to me, which I am glad of.

May 13th.—I hear that all sorts of stories are going about in consequence of my having been seen talking to Lady Palmerston at her party yesterday—'a coalition, &c.' But no one knows the real truth, which is, that I was deputed by Lord Derby and Disraeli to tell her that we meant to throw out the Duty on Paper Bill (for which she thanked us), and, further, to say that if Mackinnon's motion for postponing the Reform Bill until after the census of 1861 passed, and if Lord John and other members of the Government (meaning Gladstone and Milner Gibson) went out in consequence, and joined the Radicals against the Government, we would engage ourselves to support Lord Palmerston against them for this session. Lady Palmerston expressed herself as being very grateful for the offer, but said she did not think Lord John would go out if beaten.

May 15th.—Garibaldi has landed in Sicily, and it is said that some English ships prevented the Neapolitan ships from firing upon him.

May 21st.—I went to the debate in the House of Lords on the Paper Duty. I never saw any place so crowded as the Peers' benches, the ladies' gallery and the steps of the

throne, while the bar and the strangers' gallery were crammed.

Lord Lyndhurst opened the debate, showing a clearness of intellect and a memory which seemed hardly possible at his age; his language forcible and eloquent, great information, no repetitions, altogether a most miraculous effort for a man of eighty-eight. It was his birthday, and he left a party of his children and grandchildren (who had assembled at his house to celebrate the occasion) in order to come and render this service, perhaps the last, to his country. Lord Monteagle then proposed his amendment, which was the rejection of the bill, and Lord Derby closed the debate by a splendid speech. The bill was thrown out by a majority of 89.

June 1st.—Garibaldi has stormed Palermo, so Sicily is now free, and, it is thought, will pronounce for annexation to Sardinia.

The Government are in convulsions. Lord John threatens to resign if the Reform Bill is not proceeded with, and Gladstone makes the same threat unless the Government propose a resolution to censure the House of Lords for rejecting their bill to repeal the paper duty, and that resolution is sanctioned by the Commons. In this critical state of public affairs, Lord Derby had desired me to go to Lady Palmerston and assure her of the support of our whole party against the Radicals, and to give a positive promise that we will not coalesce with them in or out of office. Disraeli is equally determined on this point.

June 2nd.—I had a satisfactory interview with Lord and Lady Palmerston yesterday. They are as anxious as we are to get rid of the Reform Bill, but do not exactly see their

way. It is evident he does not wish to lose Lord John, though he would be very glad if Gladstone resigned.

Rumours of Lord John's and Gladstone's resignation continue. Some of the Whigs signed the round-robin blaming the former for his foreign policy, and asking him to resign. His only remark was 'Blackguards!'

June 8th.—The adjourned debate upon Mr. Mackinnon's amendment to postpone the Reform Bill until after the census of 1861 came on yesterday. Sir James Fergusson rose to move that it be adjourned until the Scotch and Irish bills were introduced, but he was beaten by a majority of 21. The Government, except Lord John and Mr. Gladstone, are as much against the measure as we are.

June 12th.—The Emperor Napoleon went to Baden-Baden, to have a conference with the Prince Regent of Prussia, probably in the hope of making some arrangement about the Rhenish provinces, by promising some aggrandisement in another direction—perhaps Saxony; or to get him on his side, and by this means destroy the German League, which may interfere with his ambitious projects. But the Prince was on his guard, and invited all the German sovereigns and reigning princes to Baden to meet the Emperor. They all came, even the blind King of Hanover; no doubt to the disappointment of Louis Napoleon, who hoped to have a *tête-à-tête* with the Prince of Prussia.[1] He, however, seems to have put a good face upon the matter and stayed from the 15th to the 17th, when he returned to Paris. All diplomatists consider it a *coup manqué*.

Garibaldi has taken Palermo by assault. The King's troops were, however, allowed to return to Naples. It is

[1] Now Emperor of Germany, 1884.

said that the King, by the advice of Louis Napoleon, means to give a constitution to his subjects, but they place no dependence upon him, and it will not save him.

June 19th.—The Bill for the Abolition of Church Rates is rejected by the House of Lords by a majority of 97 on the second reading.

June 23rd.—The Queen reviewed the Volunteers in Hyde Park. I went to Disraeli's house at Grosvenor Gate to see the sight, which was very fine. The enthusiasm of the men and spectators exceeded all description. There were 20,000 Volunteers, all active young men between eighteen and thirty. They went through their evolutions with the greatest steadiness and precision, and at the final advance in line, when they halted within a short distance of the Queen, and the bands had ceased playing 'God save the Queen,' they raised a cheer which might have been heard for miles. This was taken up by the spectators, and the scene was so exciting that the Queen was quite overcome, and I saw many people the same. It was enough to make an Englishman proud of his country to see this wonderful demonstration of patriotism and loyalty, and, as Lord Derby truly said in his speech the same evening at Merchant Taylors' Hall: 'If the bare possibility of an insult to England could in six months raise a force of 130,000 Volunteers, there is no doubt that, were the danger imminent, we should have three times that number.'

July 6th.—Lord Palmerston has made a very good speech on the resolution he proposes with respect to the Lords' rejection of the Paper Bill. Lord Derby said 'it was the

best tight-rope dancing he ever saw.' It was, anyhow, a judicious act to prevent a collision between the two Houses.

July 8th.—Gladstone has not resigned, to the surprise of everybody, for it was generally thought that he must do so after his violent speech against Lord Palmerston.

July 22nd.—Lord Elphinstone is dead. He returned very ill from India, having had the Bombay fever. He acted with great courage and ability during the mutiny. I was at Eton with him, and he afterwards entered the Life Guards.

July 24th.—Lord Palmerston made a very plucky speech last night in bringing in a bill to provide for the defences of the country. The French will be furious, for he said openly that France was the only nation against which we had to defend ourselves. And he did not conceal the fact that all our preparations were against the French. Many consider his speech imprudent, but that kind of imprudence is often the best policy.

Gladstone, who was always fond of music, is now quite enthusiastic about negro melodies, singing them with the greatest spirit and enjoyment, never leaving out a verse, and evidently preferring such as 'Camp Down Races.'

August 1st.—Lord Clanwilliam came to breakfast. The 'Times' publishes a letter from Louis Napoleon to Persigny, professing great friendship for England, and a desire for peace with the whole world. I attribute this letter to his fear of the Volunteer movement, and his wish to stop our fortification, shipbuilding, &c.

August 3rd.—Lord Palmerston's resolutions respecting

the loan to be raised for fortifying the dockyards were discussed in Committee. Mr. Lindsay proposed an amendment, 'That, as the main defence of Great Britain against aggression depends on an efficient navy, it is not now expedient to enter into a large expenditure on permanent fortifications.' This, after a long debate, was negatived by 268 to 39, and the resolution passed.

August 7th.—The Government had a majority of 33 on the Paper Duty Bill last night.

August 8th.—We got a letter from Lady Derby, announcing her daughter's marriage with Colonel Talbot.

August 21st, Heron Court.—Went to Christchurch to see my Volunteers reviewed by Colonel Luard, who appeared satisfied with them.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

Taymouth Castle: August 29, 1859.

My dear Malmesbury,—The Liverpool Conservatives have got up an address to me, which I understand is most numerously signed, expressive of entire approval of the course of our Government, and of their 'increased confidence,' &c., and they are very desirous that the presentation of the Address should be followed by a dinner (or, as they call it, a banquet), to celebrate at the same time the Conservative triumph in South Lancashire. They are particularly anxious for your presence and Disraeli's, and if you could manage it I think it would both please them and do good. I have told them that you are in Scotland, and that I thought you would not return until the latter end of October. They wish me to fix a day, with your concurrence, between Saturday, the 13th, and Thursday, the 25th, and before I write to them or to D. I should be glad to know whether this will suit you. The later you can come,

within these limits, the better probably it would suit your Scotch plans.

Ever yours sincerely,

DERBY.

September 6th.—Lady Adela Ibbotson died last Tuesday. Lady Jersey has now lost all her children. Lady Adela was her last daughter, and though for many years they saw very little of her, as they did not forgive her marriage, yet since Lady Clementina's death Lady Jersey seems to have become fond of her, and the blow will therefore be much heavier now than if it had fallen a few years ago. I went to see her, and she expresses herself as resigned to the will of God.

September 7th.—I went to Weymouth, where my yacht is to meet me.

Garibaldi entered Naples, accompanied only by his staff; the town is perfectly quiet, as all parties unite on the same side, and therefore there is no inducement to make a disturbance. All the forts have surrendered. Garibaldi and the English Admiral have exchanged visits. The former has given up the Neapolitan fleet to the Sardinian Admiral. The Sardinian troops have disembarked by order of the Dictator, as he is called. The whole army will arrive in Naples, and comprises 80,000 men, including the insurgent bands. The Sardinians have invaded the Papal States without any declaration of war. They have taken Pesaro, where they have made 1,200 Germans prisoners, also Fano and Urbino. General Lamoricière has concentrated his troops, amounting to 8,000 men, in Ancona, in defence of the Pope, and where it is said he will be attacked by 45,000 Sardinians.

September 15th.—In consequence of this violent act of

invading Romagna, Louis Napoleon has recalled his Minister from Turin, leaving a *chargé d'affaires*. Is this a sham, intended to make the Courts of Europe believe that he disapproves of the invasion of the Roman States? There can be little doubt of it, as he had an interview with Cavour at Chambéry, and with General Cialdini at Nice, and that the whole of this violent proceeding was arranged with him, for the invasion took place directly after. This is too transparent to take anyone in, and will only confirm the distrust which of late years everything he says and does inspires.

September 18th.—I went out shooting, and could only kill three brace of partridges with great difficulty; they are so rare this year all over England that they fetch twelve shillings a brace in London.

September 21st.—The newspapers announce that a battle has been fought between Cialdini and Lamoricière,[1] in which the latter was completely defeated, as Lamoricière's whole army capitulated, and he, accompanied by a few horsemen, escaped through the mountains, and threw himself into Ancona. Great agitation reigns at Turin. Some suspicion is beginning to be felt respecting Garibaldi's intentions. His naming Saffi, an ultra-Radical, to be pro-Dictator of Sicily, and the arrival of Mazzini at Naples, coupled with Garibaldi's declaration that he will only proclaim the annexation of Naples to Sardinia from the top of the Quirinal, rather looks as if he would prefer being the head of an independent Republic to abdicating his authority in favour of Victor Emanuel.

September 24th.—News from Italy bad. Everything seems

[1] Lamoricière was one of the best Algerian generals.

to be in confusion. Complete anarchy in Sicily. Great discord at Naples; the roads infested with banditti, and no security for life. The King remains at Gaeta, and has a large army still faithful to him. The Sardinians have laid siege to Ancona by sea and land.

September 28th.—I have decided on buying Lord Wemyss's house in Stratford Place.

Garibaldi has been defeated at Capua by the King's troops. He has appointed Dumas, the novelist, Keeper of the Museum at Naples, and this has given immense dissatisfaction.

September 29th.—News from Italy is unfavourable for Garibaldi, for it now would appear that his successes did not proceed from his generalship, but from his meeting with no opposition; as at Capua, when he and his best generals attacked the King of Naples' army, they were out-manœuvred and ran away. Whole regiments ran without firing a shot, but from the bare report that cavalry was coming to attack them, not even waiting to see if it were the case. It was a regular panic.

October 1st.—Letters from Ancona give a different account of the battle of Castel Fidardo from that published at Turin. It began at ten A.M. on September 18; the Papal troops had made a forced march of sixty leagues in six days; the Sardinian army blocked the road to Ancona, and occupied with artillery the heights commanding it. Lamoricière's army fought gallantly against overwhelming odds; 8,000 against 35,000. Numbers were cut down by grape-shot, and the Piedmontese thought they could easily capture the remainder, when Lamoricière commanded a charge with the bayonet, and succeeded in cutting through the compact mass

of the Sardinian army, entering Ancona with, it is said, 1,500 men. The Papal army capitulated, with General Fanti, on September 29, and Lamoricière and his whole garrison are prisoners.

October 21st.—Victor Emanuel has entered the Neapolitan States, though the King of Naples is still at Gaeta.

October 24th.—The sovereigns of Russia and Austria, the Prince Regent of Prussia, and some minor German princes, met at Warsaw on the 20th. The reconciliation between the two Emperors is said to be complete. Louis Napoleon wanted very much to attend the conference, but could not get an invitation.

November 1st.—We were invited to Windsor; the party consists of Lord and Lady de Grey, Sir George and Lady Theresa Lewis. I sat by the Queen, and Lady M. by the Prince, at dinner. They are anxious that the Austrians should not go to war with Piedmont. Her Majesty was very anxious about Lord Derby, and made many inquiries about his health. The Holsteins dined at the Castle. After dinner the Prince came up to Lady de Grey and Lady Malmesbury, and amused them immensely by giving an account of some ridiculous incidents that occurred at Levées. On one occasion a clergyman was to be presented. He, as the Prince said, 'overshot his mark,' and passed the Queen without the slightest notice. Lord De la Warr was very much put out, and began making signs to him to return. He stopped and stared at Lord De la Warr, imitating his gestures as exactly as he could, but nothing could induce him to return. Everybody was convulsed with laughter, for no etiquette could prevail against such a ridiculous scene.

November 5th.—I hear from the best authority that Lord John Russell wrote his last despatch to Mr. Hudson, dated October 27, 1860, without showing it to any of his colleagues, and that they are all indignant about it. The despatch in question is an unjustifiable one, approving of Victor Emanuel's invasion of the Roman States and Naples.[1] Lord John's first despatch, which was published, it is supposed, by order of Cavour, lost him his popularity with the Radicals, who were furious at his admitting the right of the Austrians to Venetia. He then wrote this, which is a direct recantation of the former one. The 'Times' of this morning attacks him violently for both despatches. Madame de Flahault told me that she heard it was Lord Palmerston who wrote the last despatch to Hudson, but I don't believe it, especially as she said she saw Lady John a short time ago, and she was much annoyed at the abuse in the 'Times' of Lord John's first despatch. She possibly made him write the last to try and set himself right with the public; but all he has got is a still more severe article in the 'Times.'

Capua was bombarded on November 1, and capitulated on the 2nd.

November 10th.—When Brunnow read Lord John Russell's despatch of the 27th to Hudson, he observed, 'Ce n'est pas de la diplomatie, c'est de la polissonnerie.' It did not produce this effect upon Cavour, who, when Hudson read it to him, nearly fainted from joy. On the 8th, Garibaldi, accompanied by the Ministry, formally presented to the

[1] Sir J. Hudson told me that Lord John verbally encouraged the King to invade Naples, by asking his A.D.C. at Richmond whether he, the Ki was not *afraid*. This was quite enough to send Victor Emanuel *anywhere*.

King the result of the *plébiscite* in the Throne-room. The Minister, Signor Conforto, spoke as follows: 'Sire, the Neapolitan people assembled in their Electoral Comitia have proclaimed you King by an immense majority; 9,000,000 Italians are uniting themselves to the other provinces, which your Majesty governs with so much wisdom, verifying your solemn promise that Italy should belong to the Italians.'

The King said a few words, which are not recorded. The deed of annexation was then drawn up. The Dictatorship ceased, and the Ministry resigned. The following day, November 9, Garibaldi left Naples to return to his residence in the island of Caprera, having apparently accepted neither honours nor money.

The speeches at the Lord Mayor's dinner yesterday were uninteresting, and no declaration of policy on the part of the Government. Palmerston praised the glorious successes of our troops in China, and the Volunteers. Several of our party were present to do honour to the Lord Mayor, who is a Tory. None of the foreign Ministers were there, except Persigny and d'Azeglio; the former spoke very well in French.

November 13*th*.—A leading article of the 'Times' to-day is a panegyric upon Hudson and a great abuse of Lord John Russell, but more damaging to the former than to the latter, as it praises Hudson for having disobeyed the instructions of two successive Governments, and acted according to the wishes of the people of England.

November 14*th*.—Lord Dundonald's funeral took place this morning in Westminster Abbey. He died on October 31, having lived just long enough to complete his memoirs, of which he sent a copy to the Prince Consort. Admiral Sir Charles Napier only survived him a few days.

The Prince of Wales, who has been to Canada, arrived this morning at Plymouth. His ship, the 'Hero,' was so slow, that he was detained long enough to cause considerable anxiety.

November 16th.—The Empress of the French arrived in London, and drove with her suite to Claridge's Hotel in hack cabs. The following morning she went out shopping on foot, and to the Crystal Palace in the afternoon. The object of her journey is not known. Some say she is in bad health, and is going to Hamilton Palace for change of air; another report is that she is unhappy at her sister's death.

The King of Italy seems to have treated his new subjects with very little consideration. His entry into Naples was a failure, as he fixed three different days; and when he did at last arrive it was an hour too soon, and none of the preparations were completed. He must feel humiliated, for it is Garibaldi who has conquered the kingdom for him. He gives it him, refusing all rewards, resisting all entreaties to remain; and, after giving up the Dictatorship and saluting Victor Emanuel as King of Italy, embarks the next morning, the 8th, before daylight, for his home in Caprera, paying Admiral Mundy a farewell visit on his way. Something must have occurred to disgust him with the King. It is said that at a great banquet on the day of the King's arrival in Naples, the officers of the Piedmontese army drank the health of Victor Emanuel but not Garibaldi's, whose name was never even mentioned.

November 19th.—I went to Buckenham.

November 25th.—The Empress Eugénie is going to Osborne on December 5.

November 26th.—M. de Flahault is named Ambassa in place of M. de Persigny, who was recalled in consequence of a quarrel he had with Lord Palmerston. Calling on *her*, I found her much pleased, but anxious for her husband's health, which is not strong.

The relations between England and France are not satisfactory. Lord Palmerston, who only sees through the eyes of d'Azeglio, is angry with the Emperor for his uncertain policy in Italy, which favours the Reactionists; and certainly things are going on badly for Victor Emanuel at Naples, Mr. Elliot, our Minister, having written to Lord John, saying that, bad as the late Government was, this one is much worse.

November 28th.—Lady Tankerville called and told me she went to see Lady Palmerston this morning. Whilst she was there, Lord Palmerston came in in a furious passion with the Emperor of the French for preventing the bombardment of Gaeta, and saying the atrocities committed by Francis II. were dreadful; that he had ordered people's eyes to be put out, their noses cut off, &c., and that it was necessary to put an end to this state of things. Lady Tankerville expressed her disbelief of this story; at which Lord Palmerston got more angry and said it was official and therefore must be true.

December 1st.—Saw de Persigny, who abused Palmerston, saying he is not at all the man he used to be; that he was completely led by d'Azeglio, and believed everything he told him. He said the Emperor never would have annexed Savoy or Nice if it had not been for the English Government, who would not abide by the Treaty of Villafranca. He told them from the beginning that if Sardinia annexed

Tuscany he must then have Savoy, as he could not sacrifice 50,000 Frenchmen merely to aggrandise Sardinia without some compensation to France. The dispute at present between our two Governments is about Gaeta, the French forbidding the bombardment, and Lord Palmerston, pushed on by Azeglio, being for it. They had a violent quarrel, and Lord Palmerston applied for Persigny's recall.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

Knowsley: December 4, 1860.

My dear Malmesbury,—I have been lazily intending to write to you for the last two or three days, when, 'to fire my flagging zeal,' I received this morning your letter of yesterday, and for which, and the political gossip it contains, many thanks. You disappoint me, however, by saying you must make this an exceptional year to your shooting visits, as I had hoped to catch you for the week after Bath's party, by which time I may hope to be about again, though I hardly expect to have a gun in hand this season. I am only afraid, if we have a hard frost at Christmas, that it may drive our woodcocks—at present it looks like the best year I have ever known. We have tried no coverts, but the park has been full. About the 14th of last month Freddy and Pat Talbot killed twelve; on the 24th Talbot alone killed twenty-two of twenty-four which he saw; and yesterday the two went again into the park to see if any more were come, and killed sixteen, and they say ought to have killed four or five more. Fifty in three days over the same ground. Of yesterday's sixteen, my Lady has sent you up four with a hare. We have yet no pheasants, and I hardly know how I shall get through my shooting, even with the aid of two sons and a son-in-law, when they are here. I shall be very glad to see you at any time for a political chat, and if you will give me forty-eight, or even thirty-six hours, bring your gun also, and I will give you a nice little day over ground which I believe you have never been on! Don't come, however, for a fortnight, as my Lady and I shall be absolutely *tête-à-tête*, except next Saturday and Sunday. I had a message yesterday from Taylor, who is on a visit at Gerard's, to know if I would see him to-day or to-morrow, to which of course I said yes, but am not surprised that he did not come over such a day as

to-day has been. I shall hear from him all the little party details; but I apprehend that our policy this year as well as last must be the 'masterly inactivity' which was found so successful. Italy is a grand *imbroglio*, in which, however, France has the game in her hand so far as Rome is concerned, with the full power, of which she seems to mean to avail herself, of thwarting the Sardinian and united policy. Her conduct at Gaeta has been incomprehensible, except on the supposition that she wishes to keep the pot boiling, in hopes, in some way or another, of profiting by its boiling over. John Russell must not be let off his last despatch when Parliament meets, which I hear, as I supposed, is to be on Tuesday, February 5. Flahault's appointment is, I think, a good one, in spite of his age, but I hear the ladies of his family say it will be too much for him. I am amused at Persigny, at last, having to confide his woes and grievances to your friendly bosom! Madame is of course *tout éplorée*.

Ever yours sincerely,

DERBY.

December 10th.—The English and French in China hate each other. The latter are allowed to plunder, whilst our men are flogged if they take the smallest trifle without paying for it. Parkes and Loch are returned safe to the camp,[1] but it is feared that Captain Brabazon has been taken by the Chinese and murdered. Two others are missing, one of whom is the 'Times' correspondent.

The French Empress has been to Windsor, and the Queen and Prince, with Princess Alice, returned the visit.

December 19th, Heron Court.— Colonel Charteris, Mr. Barrington, and Lochiel had a good day up the Moor's river, killing seventy-two head of wild-fowl. Twelve degrees of frost. Matilda Butler's marriage with Lord Otho Fitzgerald is just announced, but it is not to take place until

[1] This refers to the surrender of Mr. (now Sir Harry) Parkes and Mr. (now Sir Henry) Loch by the Chinese, after their confinement for a month or more in a temple at Pekin, under hourly apprehension, and indeed threats, that at any moment they might be taken into the courtyard and executed.

she is better, and may likely never do so at all, as she is in a dangerous state of health from an affection of the lungs, and the doctors will not allow her to be married at present.[1]

December 24th.—Sixteen degrees of frost last night, went to London.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

Knowsley: December 26, 1860.

My dear Malmesbury,—I am obliged to you for a sight of Disraeli's letter, which I return. He had not written to me on the subject; and I hope has not taken offence at my telling him in my last letter that I thought he had gone rather too far in his declaration of 'no compromise' on the subject of Church-rates. In principle he is right; but it was our moderation and the refusal of the other side to listen to any terms which mainly caused the dwindling of the House of Commons majority and thus made *our* work the easier. I am afraid that Disraeli's outspoken declaration will lose us this advantage, which will not be counterbalanced by the increased support of the thoroughgoing Churchmen; and though the House of Lords will no doubt stand to their colours, yet an increased House of Commons majority, which I apprehend, will add to our difficulties. Observe that I am entirely against our originating any measure; but I doubt the policy of shutting the door beforehand against any overtures of our opponents. As to the main question of Disraeli's letter to you, I am very glad to find that he takes the view he does of our policy; and I shall be pleased to hear of the renewal of your confidential communications with *the Palmerstons*, for I suppose my Lady counts—*pour quelque chose*. I should not be afraid of entering on these *quasi* negotiations too soon. I believe Disraeli is quite accurate in his estimate of the relations between the Government and the Bright and Cobden party.

I think that in your communications with Palmerston you cannot be too explicit. He is a gentleman, and will know that you and I are dealing with him *de bonne foi*, and will not suspect a 'dodge,' if we make any exception to our promise of support.

[1] She died soon after, and Lord Otho married Lady Londesborough; both the last dying in 1884.

I should, however, be quite ready to assure him that, though we might, in debate, object to some of the 'sayings and doings' of the Foreign Office (and chiefly the *sayings*, or rather, *writings*), we would not countenance any movement on the subject of foreign policy calculated to defeat the Government, unless it were on the impossible supposition that they should desire us to take an active part in an attack by Sardinia and France on Venetia. I cannot believe that the Government will be so mad as to sanction such a policy; but an exception made in such a case from our promise of support will rather serve to strengthen than to shake a belief in the sincerity of our general profession.

You seem to have had good sport with the wild-fowl. I am afraid my shooting will be quite spoilt by the intense severity of the weather, compared to which yours is a summer climate. You talk of the thermometer at eighteen: we had it at five the night before last, and last night one degree above zero, and at Windham Hornby's house, which lies lower and damper than this, it is said to have been, the night before last, at five below zero; what it was last night I do not know. Except that it keeps me from going out of the house, I do not find that this severe cold retards my recovery, which goes on, though slowly. I hobble about the house, though I am still obliged to be carried *down* stairs.

. . . . . .

Ever yours sincerely,

DERBY.

December 28th.—Intense cold. Peace with China was signed at Pekin on October 24 by Lord Elgin and Prince Kung, brother of the Emperor. The Summer Palace of the Emperor has been plundered and burnt by order of Lord Elgin, in revenge for the cruelties committed upon the English and French prisoners whom they took treacherously on September 10. They were taken to the Summer Palace and tortured with the Emperor's sanction, so it was considered by our diplomatists and generals that the most just punishment was to destroy his property and not to burn the town, which would only have punished his subjects.

After the two armies had carried off everything they could, they destroyed property, it is said, amounting to at

least two millions sterling. The town of Pekin disappointed everybody; it has been very magnificent, but is now in a state of complete decay, and so ruinous that it was with the greatest difficulty they could find a house to lodge Lord Elgin. It is feared that Captain Brabazon has been beheaded with the French Abbé Huc. They were taken to a Chinese general who had just been wounded by the English, and who in his rage ordered their execution.'

From Mr. Bidwell to Lord M.

Foreign Office: December 28, 1860.

My dear Lord,— . . . . I wanted much to see you, as I have learnt much of many things while I have been away, and from two distinguished people I heard you spoken of to my immense pleasure.

I went away, as I intended, right away to the south, and I spent five agreeable days at Algiers, basking in sunshine or shading myself under palm-trees, eating green peas and fresh strawberries, and I have come back to this! I went over to Algiers and lived there with Cobden! When we started I thought of Jonah, and was almost tempted to suggest a similar fate, for it came on to blow awfully, and we were knocked about off Minorca in great style.

However, Cobden and I became immense friends, for he gained my heart by the way he spoke of you. He said he had never been so struck or so surprised as on reading the Italian Blue-book, and he should certainly have voted with the Government, and wondered why it had not been laid on the table before the want of confidence vote. We got on famously together, for I puzzled him with an apt quotation from Horace in one of our first conversations, and he frankly confessed that he had forgotten his classics—so ever afterwards, whenever he got the better of me on subjects of political economy, I brought up Numidia, Jugurtha, and Masinissa, and so we discussed Algiers and his treaty. . . . . I also had a long talk with Lord Cowley at Paris. He does not hit it off with Lord J., and once, when I happened to mention you, he burst out: 'I wish to God he was back at the Foreign Office again!'

Ever yours faithfully,

BIDWELL.

1861

January 1*st*, *Heron Court.*—After three weeks of very hard weather, the wind veered to the south-west, with heavy rains, which flooded the river.

January 8*th.*—Thermometer again down to sixteen degrees.

January 12*th.*—My old servant, John Brenton, who has been with me five-and-twenty years, suddenly went out of his mind, and is, I am afraid, hopelessly insane. He has been a most faithful follower, and I feel for him as if he were a friend and relation. I have sent him to a private asylum at Salisbury, but with very little hope of his recovery.

January 21*st.*—I heard to-day a good story of the present Duke of Wellington. He and the Duchess were invited to Windsor. She was in London, and went; but the Duke, having a party at Strathfieldsaye, which he did not like to put off, sent an excuse, and when he was told of the offence he had given, he replied, 'Her Majesty has no right to be angry; I obeyed the back of the card, and the Duchess obeyed the front.' The invitation cards have printed directions on the back, desiring that the card should be returned should the ladies and gentlemen invited be away from London.

January 23*rd.*—I received a bad account of my servant

from the asylum. They have been obliged to put him under chloroform, and give him medicine and nourishment by means of a stomach-pump. He has a room to himself, well fitted up, and two men to take care of him.

January 31*st*.—A flock of wild swans pitched in Parley Heath. I posted the gentlemen, and the swans were driven to them. Mr. Mills and I killed three.

Lord Bath arrived.

February 5*th, London*.—There was no amendment to the Address proposed in the House of Lords, but Lord Derby made one of his slashing speeches on the foreign policy of the Government. In the Commons, Mr. White moved an amendment in favour of Reform, which was negatived.

February 10*th*.—Mr. H. Vernon, Lady Selina's husband, died a few days ago of rheumatic fever at Tottenham.

February 16*th*.—Gaeta surrendered on the 13th, and the King, Queen, and royal family embarked on board a French vessel.

Mr. Disraeli to Lord M.

House of Lords: February 22 1861.

My dear Malmesbury,—I fear Fitzgerald is shaky about the great battle on Wednesday—Church-rates! Pray write to him *decidedly*; it will never do to have our own men run riot.

The fact is, in internal politics there is only one question now, the maintenance of the Church. There can be no refraining or false Liberalism on such a subject. They are both out of fashion, too.

Your House of Lords' pens and ink must be my excuse for this miserable scrawl. Yours ever, D.

March 9*th*.—The affair of Mirès, the banker, is making a

great noise in Paris. Some time ago he had a great quarrel with one of his ex-partners, and the latter accused him of frauds in connection with a speculation called Roman Railways. A prosecution was instituted against him, but he went to the Emperor, who stopped the course of justice. It is supposed that he would have made revelations implicating high personages about the Court. As the distress consequent on the stoppage of Mirès' bank is very great, and falls principally on the lower classes, it must make the Court very unpopular. M. Jules Favre declared that he would, on the approaching discussion on the Address, denounce the extraction of a wealthy man from the fangs of the law, when a poor man who offends from want is relentlessly prosecuted. The threat caused alarm in high quarters. A Cabinet Council was held; most of the Ministers were of opinion that Mirès ought to be protected from prosecution for the reason that many persons, some of them *pillars of the State*, might turn out to be implicated in his acts. Count de Persigny, however, insisted that he should be treated like everybody else. The Emperor took the same view, and Mirès has been sent to prison, where he is to be kept in solitary confinement. One of the council of surveillance of his bank, Vicomte de Richemont, has committed suicide, and another, Count Simeon, has left France. Storms seem to be collecting round the Emperor on all sides. The bishops and clergy are denouncing him from the pulpit and in pastoral letters as the enemy of the Pope and the Catholic religion.

March 13th.—Lord Palmerston yesterday moved two resolutions for the appointment of a select committee to consider the system of promotion and retirement in the Royal Navy, and that it be an instruction to the select committee

to inquire into the Board of Admiralty. The first resolution was agreed to without a division, and the second was carried on a division by 96 to 33.

March 14*th.*—The House of Commons threw out Mr. Locke-King's bill for reducing the county franchise to 10*l.*, by a majority of 28. We had agreed with the Government that if they helped us to throw out this bill we would help them to pass Lord Palmerston's resolution, reversing their former vote on the payment of the Navy.

March 23*rd.*—I crossed to Paris, and thence proceeded by the Western Railway to Brittany. I am much struck with the appearance of the country. Laval is a most interesting town; the inn not at all a bad one, and a good dinner at the *table d'hôte.* The waiter had a face and figure which nobody can forget, and boasted to me that he could fold a napkin in twenty-four different ways. The bridge at Laval once divided the English from the French portions of France. The castle is an old donjon, with the most frightful *oubliettes.*

March 28*th.*—I took a carriage and post-horses to Vitré, stopping on my road to see a very curious Druidical circle, in the middle of an oak-wood, and composed of immense stones supported by others of equal size, called 'La Grotte des Fées.' At Vitré there is a very fine mediæval gateway with two round towers.

March 29*th.*—Went on to Rennes. Very good inn and curiosity shop, in which I bought a box which the archbishop wished to sell. It was of old enamel inlaid on gold, which the prelate had used for holding the holy wafer, and with

that view had the sacred monogram engraved inside. It had been given by Louis XII. to his Minister, Cardinal Amboise, whose arms, with the *fleur de lys*, are on it, with a burning mountain as a rebus on the name of his place of residence—*Chaumont*.

March 31*st*.—From Rennes I went to the Baie des Trépassés, the wildest sea-view it is possible to imagine, where there is a picturesque rock called the Torch of Penmarch, on which a chapel has been erected, and round which the sea is continually breaking. There is a current here which washes those who perish in the Bay of Biscay up on this shore, and it is seldom that the rocks on this stormy coast are without a dead body, which circumstance gives its sinister name to *this fatal* place. From thence I went to Quimper, with its beautiful spires and churches, and thence made expeditions to the dolmens of Carnac[1] and to St. Auray. Here, in a vault some hundred feet deep, looking very like a large well, lie, in full view, the bones of the Royalists who were taken and murdered by the Republican soldiers during the great French Revolution after our fatal expedition at Quibéron. A very old man, evidently one of that terrible epoch, was looking down with his eyes full of tears.

April 16*th*, *London*.—I had an audience of the Emperor before leaving Paris, and found him very much prejudiced against the whole Tory party, having been told an enormous quantity of lies, which he apparently believed. I spoke very openly to him, and think I succeeded in undeceiving him on

[1] Here I met a very intelligent priest, who went round with me to show me this mile of Druidical stones, and the great barrow of St. Michel. He had studied the origin of these mysterious remains, and proved, I think satisfactorily, that they were sepulchres.

some points, but one never can be sure, as he carries dissimulation to the greatest pitch. I think the party he would like to see governing England are the Radicals. He fears our aristocracy, whom he knows to be thoroughly English, and the most energetic of all the classes; and he would like a Government who would diminish our army and navy, and so weaken our influence abroad. He entered into the whole question of Italy, and confessed that he was now much perplexed what to do about Rome. He evidently would like to throw over the Pope, but fears the Church party. He abused Palmerston. Madame Walewska was very friendly. She is in greater favour with the Emperor than ever. I also saw the Persignys, and was well received by both. Madame de Persigny regrets England, and perhaps hopes, as they were recalled in consequence of a quarrel with Lord Palmerston, that the return of Tories to office might enable them to go back.

April 18th.—Our party last night threw out in the House of Commons Mr. Monckton Milnes' bill for legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister by a majority of 5, and the Trustees of Charities Bill by 29; the latter being a question of Church *versus* Dissenters.

May 1st.—Dined at the Mansion House, where there was a great dinner to Lord Derby.

May 3rd.—Mr. Horsfall's amendment to reduce the tea duty to a shilling was rejected in the House of Commons by 18.

May 5th.—The state of affairs in America is getting worse every day, and civil war has actually begun. The first

shot was fired by the Secessionists on April 12 against Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbour, and after a bombardment of forty hours Major Anderson surrendered. The fort was completely destroyed, but not a single man killed on either side. The last news mentions the destruction of Norfolk Dockyard, with eleven ships of war, to prevent their falling into the hands of the insurgents.

May 13*th.*—There are dreadful accounts from the country, which make one fear a worse harvest than the last. Captain McClintock, who has just returned from the Polar regions, has reported to the Admiralty that there is an accumulation of three years' ice.

May 14*th.*—The Duc de Richelieu told me that the only thing which could prevent a war with France was Lord Derby's return to office. His late speech, in which he advocated two kingdoms of Italy divided by the Papal States, was admirable, and his policy the only one to follow to ensure a sincere friendship between England and France.

May 31*st.*—The adjourned debate upon the Paper Duty came on, and the Government had a majority of 15.

June 2*nd.*—Lord Ossulston attributes the bad division on the Paper Duty to the stupid dislike of our party to Disraeli, and their wish not to turn out the Government to put him in office; but I think it more probable that they feared a dissolution.

June 5*th.*—I received a letter this morning from my agent, with the melancholy news that my poor old servant, John Brenton, had cut his throat yesterday. On a *post-mortem* examination they found a drop of blood on the brain, which

no doubt was the cause of his insanity; and this resulted from a fall he had from his pony, when he was stunned, but not apparently injured, and took no notice of it. He was the last man likely to go mad, as he was shrewd and practical to a degree, and remarkable for his common-sense and good nerve. He had served my grandfather, father, and myself for forty years, and was of that class of servant, now long extinct, born on the place and brought up in the family, who treated him as one of themselves, and on the same footing by my friends and acquaintances, who were much amused at his dry wit and intelligence.[1]

June 6th.—I dined with the Duke of Cambridge, and there heard of the death of Count Cavour, which took place this morning. It is too soon to judge of his character, although he was certainly a great statesman and deep intriguer.

June 7th.—We had a dinner for the Duchess of Cambridge and Princess Mary. Tankervilles, Lady Chesterfield, Carnarvons, Lord Dunkellin, Lord Loughborough, Lord Hardwicke, Lord Stanhope, Mr. Barrington, &c. Afterwards to Madame Apponyi's ball.

June 13th.—Sir John and Lady Crampton called. She was Miss Balfe, and sang for one or two seasons at Covent Garden; Sir John then married her and took her to St. Petersburg, where he was Minister, and they are now just going to Madrid. She is very pretty and ladylike.

[1] I remember a specimen of the former which amused me much at the time. I was fishing in Loch Arkaig, which is fifteen miles long, and having great sport, I exclaimed to John Brenton in my excitement, 'I wish I had this lake at Heron Court!' 'I don't,' cried John, 'as it would drown your miserable estate and half the county besides.'

June 14*th*.—Dined with the Buccleuchs, and went to Lady Craven's ball. The marriage of her second daughter with Lord Ernest Bruce's eldest son is arranged.

June 18*th*.—Called on the Duchess of Marlborough, where Count Brandenburg told me that Louis Napoleon is going to send an Ambassador to Turin; so Azeglio will be Ambassador in England. All the Corps Diplomatique have heard of my sending him an invitation as Sardinian *Minister*, and seem greatly delighted; but nothing I can say will persuade them that I did so by mistake.

I went to Lady Molesworth's theatricals. The first piece, 'Un Caprice,' beautifully acted by Mesdemoiselles Duverger and Colas and Mr. Fechter; the latter piece is *mauvais ton*.

June 19*th*.—Went to the fullest Drawing Room I ever saw, and in the evening to Lady Derby's—a small and pleasant party. Count Vitzthum was going about in a state of great excitement because the Neapolitans (as he said) had roasted alive four Piedmontese, and the latter had shot twenty Neapolitans.

Sir J. Trelawny's bill for abolishing Church-rates was rejected on the 17th on the third reading, House of Commons. The division was equal, 274 on both sides. The Speaker then gave his casting-vote against the bill.

June 21*st*.—Lord Lansdowne called on me; he is grown very deaf, but his intellect remains clear.

A tremendous fire broke out in some warehouses on the banks of the Thames. I went in a Hansom cab to see it. It was awful beyond description. An explosion took place which threw down a wall close to Mr. Braidwood, and four or five of his brigade of firemen were crushed in a moment.

At one time London Bridge station and a church near it were threatened with fire, as also the Custom House, though on the opposite side of the river. There was fortunately no wind, or the whole of Southwark must have been destroyed.

The Lord Chancellor (Campbell) died suddenly last night. He had given a dinner, and was apparently in good health, but the next morning was found dead in his armchair.

June 26th.—Sir Richard Bethell is the new Lord Chancellor, and received to-day the Great Seal from the Queen. The Sultan is dead.

June 27th.—We dined with Lady Truro, where we met the Duc d'Aumale, a very gentlemanly and agreeable man.

June 28th.—Concert at Buckingham Palace. Whilst we were waiting for our carriage to go away Lord Derby joined us, and immediately after Lord John Russell came up. Lord Derby exclaimed, 'How do you do, Lord John? You have got into very bad company.' He looked round at us all with a grim smile and said, 'I see I have;' when Lord Derby, looking at him attentively, observed that he was incorrectly dressed, having his Levée uniform instead of the full dress which he ought to have worn. Lord John said, 'I know I am wrong, and the porter wanted to turn me out.' 'Oh, did he?' exclaimed Lord Derby. 'Thou canst not say *I* did it.' Of course all those round laughed at this apt quotation from Shakespeare, and no one more than Lord John himself.

July 6th.—We went to the Duchess of Cambridge's breakfast at Kew—a small but very good party. Madame de Persigny had a pork-pie hat of blue velvet and a white veil

which only came to the tip of her nose, her hair in a net, and a sash tied behind. I did not know her when she came up to speak, but recognised her by her lisping voice. She was most friendly, so I suppose she is looking forward to returning here as Ambassadress.

Dr. Bence Jones told me that Lord Herbert's case is hopeless. He might have lived many years, and Bence Jones did not say positively that he might not have got well had he given up office and led a quiet life. He told this to Lady Herbert, but she would not believe him, and was so annoyed that she has not seen him since. He is now so ill at Wilton that he cannot be moved to London, and she has written to the Duke of Cambridge to ask him to take his place at the dinner given on the Queen's birthday.

The news from Naples is very bad in an Italian sense. Complete anarchy prevails. The 'Reactionist brigands,' as the Piedmontese call them, increase every day, and no one's life is safe out of the town. The army is to be increased by 60,000 men, and to be commanded by Cialdini. It is said that Ricasoli, Cavour's successor, refuses to name Azeglio Ambassador. He is taking a very high tone, and made a very spirited speech in the Chambers, declaring that he would not give up another inch of Italian territory; that the 'King's Government saw a territory to defend and a territory to recover: it saw Rome, it saw Venice'—a pretty plain declaration of war to Austria.

July 13*th*.—All London is talking of a supposed attempt of Baron Vidil to murder his son yesterday week. The story is that they went to Claremont, where they remained about an hour. They had gone by rail to Twickenham, where they had hired horses to ride to Claremont, but the Baron

diverged from the road under the pretence of calling on the Duc d'Aumale, and, on arriving in a secluded lane, made an attack upon his son, hitting him on the head with a stick or riding-whip, and cutting his forehead open. The young man galloped away, his father pursuing him, until he met a man and woman coming along the lane, when he rushed to them, imploring protection. They, of course, granted it, and a surgeon, who was sent for, sent his assistant with him to London, as he expressed the greatest terror of going alone with his father. The next morning he went to his uncle's house and told the story. The police were sent to arrest the Baron, but he had escaped to France.

August 3rd, Heron Court.—Mr. Mills called and told us of Lord Herbert's death, which took place at Wilton. He will be a great loss as a public man, being one of those who was looked upon as likely to be a future Prime Minister, but a still greater to his family and friends, who knew all the excellence of his disposition and generous character. Among the latter I must include myself.

August 6th.—News has arrived of a great battle having been fought at Manassas Gap, in Virginia, between the Federals and Secessionists, in which the former were totally routed.[1]

Parliament was prorogued yesterday. Lord Herbert's death has obliged Lord Palmerston to rearrange his Cabinet. Sir George Lewis is War Secretary; Sir George Grey, Home Secretary; Sir Robert Peel, Secretary for Ireland; Lord Ripon, Under Secretary for War; Mr. Layard, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the place of Lord Wodehouse, who resigned when Lord John became Earl

[1] This battle was afterwards known as Bull's Run.

Russell, as he would not submit to be second where, on all questions relating to foreign affairs, he had been first. It is supposed that he will have an Embassy, and the Whigs want Lords Cowley and Bloomfield and Sir Henry Bulwer to make room.

August 11*th.*—Went to church at Christchurch for afternoon service, and to my horror I found that seven babies were to be christened. Afterwards to Highcliffe, to see the Princess Edward, who was much amused when I related this to her, and said 'the clergyman ought to have used a watering-pot to sprinkle them.'

August 21*st.*—All the party from Highcliffe arrived. Some of us fished, and some walked to the top of Ramsdown. Lady Salisbury and Lord Odo Russell[1] also called, and he sang—a very fine tenor voice.

I went to meet my yacht at Weymouth.

August 25*th.*—There has been a great battle fought at Springfield, in which the Federals were defeated, and lost their best general, Lyons.

August 30*th.*—A most lovely day for our *fête* given to the Volunteers, the parade being in the park.

Lady Salisbury and the Russells came over from Bournemouth. I had to make a speech and present a rifle to the sergeant-major. We had a good band from Poole, to which the party danced till seven o'clock. I opened the ball with the Princess Edward of Saxe-Weimar. Croquet on the lawn and Aunt Sally in the more retired parts. Bowls and cricket in the park. An enormous quantity of eating and drinking

[1] This able and amiable man died as Ambassador at Berlin in August 1884: a great loss to the public service. In 1852 I sent him as our diplomatic agent to the Pope. He was created Lord Ampthill in 1881.

in the courtyard—altogether the most animated scene, everyone appearing amused. About 2,000 people.

September 6th.—Poured all the morning; so we were obliged to go in the brougham to Mr. Grantley Berkeley's cottage, where we found Princess Edward, Lady Conyngham, and the Binghams already arrived and looking extremely disgusted at the rain, which was coming down in torrents. It is altogether a pretty, wild place, and a few hundred pounds, which poor Berkeley has *not* to spend, laid out upon it would make it quite lovely. The sun came out, and we had a beautiful afternoon, which revived the spirits of the party. We all amused ourselves after luncheon by pulling up a number of lines which Berkeley had laid along the banks of the river, and caught several fine eels. Mr. and Mrs. Brett and Lord Ranelagh arrived in the evening.

September 12th.—The Bretts and Ranelagh left. The Princess, Lady Conyngham, and Lord George Lennox came about one, and we proceeded to draw up the lines which I had placed in the Stour. The Princess pulled them up, and got three pike of twelve or fourteen pounds, one large tench, and seven eels. The latter and the large pike had been put on previously, but we all, including the keeper, looked so innocent, that no one suspected the trick.

September 14th.—News from America describes the Federals as beaten in every engagement. Mr. Russell evidently got into disgrace by his account of Bull's Run, and now writes more cautiously; being afraid, I suppose, of being tarred and feathered—a common punishment in the Union. We had a great function at Bournemouth on opening the new pier.

September 21*st*.—Returned to London.

September 23*rd*.—Left for Gedling, Lord Chesterfield's place. Nobody here except Lord Granville, Colonel Forester, and Lord Stanhope.

September 24*th*.—We killed 300 partridges and an immense quantity of hares. The rents of this estate have not been raised for more than fifty years, and consequently the farmers do not complain of them, although they swarm.

September 27*th*.—I went to London and on to Paris; Lady Malmesbury to Knowsley.

From Paris I made a tour to see all the castles on the Loire. First to Blois, which is very interesting, as being the scene of the crimes of the later Valois. The apartment is shown in which Henri III. had the Duc de Guise assassinated. From thence to Amboise, where there is a round tower so spacious and so well built, that a carriage and four horses can drive up from the bottom to the battlements and terrace at the top. Abd-el-Kader had been imprisoned in this castle, and was released by Louis Napoleon. From there I proceeded to Loches, one of the donjons of Louis XI. Thence to Chenonceaux, the castle bower of Diane de Poictiers, built astride upon the Loire, now belonging to a dentist! I went to see Azy-le-Rideau, a beautiful castle belonging to M. de Briancourt, and in perfect order. On my way to Tours, I happened to find in 'Galignani' an account of the death of my dear friend, Lord Eglinton, who had been seized with apoplexy at Mr. Whyte-Melville's house, where he had gone to attend a golf meeting. He is a sad

loss to our political party and to me personally. He used to complain to me that he constantly saw a figure retreating before his eyes, disappear and appear again—an evident proof that his brain suffered under some kind of pressure.

November 9th.—The Federals at Leesburg have lost six or seven hundred men. They crossed the Potomac, taking only two small boats, intending probably to surprise the Confederates. Having got across without opposition, they formed their whole force, about eighteen hundred men, in a field of twelve acres, with the river at their backs, the three other sides of the field being enclosed by a thick wood filled with their enemies, who immediately fired upon them from behind the trees. The Federals then attempted to re-cross the river, but having no boats except the two mentioned, a regular rout and dreadful loss of life ensued. The disgrace of it rests at present between Generals Macmillan and Scott. It is a fearfully cruel war.

I am alarmed at the state of America, and if the war continues they will, of course, gain experience, and the Northern provinces will be left with a fine army, which they may use in attempting the conquest of Canada, a country difficult to defend.

November 28th.—Important news has just arrived by the 'Plata.' Messrs. Slidell and Mason, the Confederate Commissioners to England and France, with their secretaries, were forcibly taken out of the Royal Mail steamer 'Trent' whilst on her passage from Havannah to St. Thomas, by the American war-ship 'San Jacinto.' The steamer 'Theodore,' with the Commissioners on board, ran the blockade at Charleston on October 18; they were accompanied by their

families. They left Havannah, on board the 'Trent,' on the 7th. At noon on the 8th, as the 'Trent' was approaching the narrow passage between the reefs, a large war-vessel was observed waiting ahead, and showing no colours. On coming nearer, the 'Trent' hoisted her ensign, and met with no response from the man-of-war, which when within the eighth of a mile fired a round-shot across the 'Trent's' bows. Captain Moir, of the 'Trent,' thereupon hailed the captain of the other ship, asking what he meant by stopping him. He replied that he wished to send a boat on board, and at the same time one was lowered containing two officers and twenty men. The officers came on board and demanded the 'Trent's' list of passengers, which was refused. Lieutenant Fairfax, the officer in command of the party from the war-steamer (which proved to be the 'San Jacinto') then said that Captain Wilkes, his captain, had received reliable information that Messrs. Slidell, Eustace, Mason, and Farland were on board the 'Trent,' and demanded that they should be given up. This was peremptorily refused, both by Captain Moir and Commander Williams, R.N., the naval agent in charge of the mails. The lieutenant then said he would take charge of the steamer. Commander Williams thereupon made a protest to the effect that he accused the Americans of piracy and of the violation of international law; an act which, had he the means of defence, they would not have dared to attempt. The Americans stated that they were short of provisions, and asked for a supply to maintain the prisoners. Captain Moir furnished them with supplies, stating distinctly that they were for the exclusive use of the four gentlemen. The American lieutenant then said that his orders were to take Captain Moir and his papers on board the 'San Jacinto,' and that the 'Trent'

was to be moored near her. Captain Moir replied 'You will find me on the quarter-deck.' The lieutenant, however, called his men together and went over the side, returned to the 'San Jacinto,' and the 'Trent' proceeded on her voyage. The despatches of the Commissioners did not fall into the hands of the Americans, as Mrs. Slidell is said to have concealed them inside her 'cage.'

As soon as this event was known at Liverpool an indignation meeting was held, and a resolution passed, insisting upon the Government demanding instant reparation for the insult offered to our flag.

December 1st.—Lord Lyndhurst declares that if the Government show the least wavering about this American outrage they must be turned out when Parliament meets.

December 5th.—A telegram has just been received announcing the death of Lady Canning on November 14. Lord Palmerston telegraphed immediately to Lady Stuart, who is at Highcliffe with Lady Waterford. The blow will be the more cruel as she expected the Cannings home next March.

December 6th.—Dined at Lady Tankerville's, where we met the Saxe-Weimars, Lord Granville, Ben Stanley, Count Brandenburg, and Miss Gorges. The Princess was low. She dreads the Prince being ordered to Canada. At present the two first battalions are under orders, and are to start at forty-eight hours' notice. Lord Granville told me that the Government would not be satisfied with anything except the restoration of Slidell and Mason. They have allowed the American Government seven days to come to a decision,

and if they refuse Lord Lyons was to leave Washington directly.[1]

December 8th.—Lady Canning's death was broken to Lady Stuart de Rothesay by General Stuart. The shock was terrible, and she has not been able to leave her bed since. Mrs. Stuart had received a letter from Lady Canning on the 27th, only two days before the arrival of the telegram announcing her death, in which she said, 'Home now seems so near.'

December 9th.—Left London for Longleat, where we met a family party. Lord Bath, as usual, uncertain in his politics. Prince Albert is ill, and there is a sort of bulletin in the 'Times' which does not seem comfortable. His illness is said to be gastric fever.

December 12th.—Very wet and stormy. We went out shooting, though it blew a regular gale. I got a letter today from Lady Ely, who says the Prince's illness is gastric fever and inflammation of the mucous membrane of the stomach, and that he is anxious about himself. Lady Somerton and Mr. Fountaine, on the violin, played duets. He plays with great taste, and brings out great tone in the slow passages. Lady Louisa Fielding's voice is charming. Big Ben's[2] conversation consisted of violent abuse of Disraeli and Lord Derby.

December 13th.—Left Longleat after a very pleasant visit. The bulletin about the Prince is not satisfactory; no change in the symptoms. Lady Munster has seen Dr. Jenner, who

[1] The Emperor Louis Napoleon supported us manfully on this occasion.

[2] Member for Norfolk, Tory, but a general *frondeur*.

told her that the Prince's fever was of a typhoid character. The Queen has sat up with him for two nights, and never leaves his room—quite in despair.

December 15*th*, *Heron Court.*—We got a letter from Lady Ely, saying that the Prince is as ill as possible. I telegraphed to Princess Edward, and at half-past six received the sad news that the Prince died last night at eleven. The greatest anxiety is felt on the Queen's account, for it is feared that this affliction may be too much for her health or mind to bear. She has lost everything that could make life valuable to her, as all her happiness was centred in her husband, who was not only most devoted and affectionate to her, but her best friend; advising her in all her difficulties, consoling her in all her annoyances, and saving her, as much as possible, trouble and anxiety of every kind.

December 17*th*.—Lady Ely writes that the Prince's fever was the same as that which the King of Portugal died of, and that he had from the beginning a presentiment that he would not recover.

December 18*th*.—I got a letter from Princess Edward, giving a good account of the poor Queen, who bears her affliction most nobly.

December 20*th*.—We continue to receive good accounts of the Queen. The Princess says she has signed some papers, and seen Lord Granville.

December 28*th*.—I hear that Ministers have signed a memorial to the Queen, refusing to transact business with her

through Sir Charles Phipps. This, though right, is certainly cruel under present circumstances. No news can be received from America as to the reception of our demands until the 30th, but our Government are preparing for war. Lord Palmerston has been dangerously ill, but is better. His death at this moment would be a national misfortune, when we consider who the men are who are likely to succeed him among the Whig party.

1862

January 11*th.*—The town of Southampton is rather excited by the arrival of an American frigate, the 'Tuscarora,' evidently come to look after the 'Nashville'; the captain of the latter is supposed to have sent for the 'Sumter,' which is at Cadiz, and the two together will be a match for the frigate. They cannot fight in our waters.

January 16*th.*—Messrs. Slidell and Mason embarked on board the 'Rinaldo,' either for England or Halifax. Lord Lyons has written a very dry despatch in answer to Mr. Seward's, not replying to any of his arguments as to the legality or otherwise of the seizure on board the 'Trent.'

January 17*th.*—There is a report to-day that the 'Parana' steamer is lost in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. She sailed with the 'Adriatic' in December. The 'Parana' carries the 1st Battalion Fusilier Guards with their officers, amongst whom are Lord Dunmore, Colonel Charteris, and many others of my acquaintance.

January 19*th.*—Lady Margaret Charteris gave me the pleasing intelligence that the 'Parana,' on board which was her husband, Colonel Charteris, is safe in the St. Lawrence.

January 26*th.*—Saw Lord Derby, and talked over his future Government. He insists on my again taking the Foreign Office, which I do not think my health will allow. Lord Palmerston is in a very weak state, so it must be doubtful whether he will be able to carry on the Government.

January 30*th.*—Messrs. Slidell and Mason arrived at Southampton yesterday. A crowd collected to see them land, but not a single person cheered. Mr. Mason remained at Southampton until the evening, and received a visit from the officers of the 'Nashville.'

One of our finest line-of-battle ships, the 'Conqueror,' 100 guns, has been stranded on a reef near the Bahama Islands; the crew are saved, and the guns will be recovered, but the ship is a complete wreck.

February 1*st.*—Lord Russell has addressed a letter to the Admiralty declaring it to be the Queen's pleasure that the ships and privateers belonging to the Federals and Confederates should not enter any English ports, except in cases of bad weather and want of provisions.

February 4*th, Heron Court.*—Lady Ely arrived. She seemed very low, and the account of her life at Osborne for the last five weeks quite accounts for the depression of her spirits. She gives a sad report of the poor Queen, who talks continually about the Prince, and seems to feel comfort in doing so. She takes great pleasure in the universal feeling of sympathy for her and sorrow for him shown by all classes.

February 6th, London.—Parliament met to-day. The Queen, of course, did not come. Lord Derby made a speech on the Address; the part relating to the Prince Consort's death was beautiful. There was no amendment.

February 9th.—I hear Mr. Mason says that it will be impossible for the Confederates to continue the war much longer, as they will have no more money with which to pay their troops; their army and navy together costing half a million per day.

February 19th.—Lord Clarendon in the House of Lords attempted to explain the part he had taken with reference to Italy at the Congress of Paris in 1856. Some private letters of Cavour's have just been published by Jeffs, from which extracts have appeared in the 'Times,' showing that Lord Clarendon encouraged Cavour to go to war. His defence was most feeble, and fell perfectly flat on the House. The solemn silence which followed Lord Clarendon's speech must have been very galling. He admitted that he saw Cavour daily, and conversed with him a great deal on the affairs of Italy, but kept no notes of his conversations, as he did not consider them of sufficient importance for him to report them to his Government. This is quite incredible to those who know his *cacoëthes scribendi.*

February 28th.—Lord Derby brought forward yesterday the question of which he had given notice respecting a most infamous proclamation issued by the military commandant of Lucera, near Naples, ordering every human being to withdraw in three days from a certain district or to be shot as brigands, and the woods, houses, and cattle to be destroyed. Lord Russell and the Duke of Argyll denied its authenticity,

saying that it was only an old proclamation of Murat's republished, but that they would write to Sir James Hudson on the subject.

March 4th.—I was detained at the House by a debate upon the Revised Code. Lord Derby spoke against the measure, upon which he feels strongly.

March 20th.—Dined with the Salisburys. My speech on Italian affairs seems to have pleased my party. We have won the North Riding, Mr. Morritt beating Mr. Milbanke by 473.

A letter from Italy states that the proclamation of Lucera, issued by Fantoni, who, according to Lord Russell, was alone responsible for it, was really issued by General della Rovere when Minister of War, and that three colonels were dismissed summarily for not carrying out their orders with sufficient severity. Fantoni's conduct was in pursuance of direct orders from Generals Govone and Chiabrera, commanding in the Neapolitan provinces, who have since been decorated as Grand Officers of St. Maurice.[1]

March 25th.—Polish debate came on this afternoon, so I took Madame Zamoiska to hear it. Lord Carnarvon spoke well. Lord Russell said that the Government could not offer advice to the Emperor of Russia with respect to his mode of governing his own subjects.

Mr. George Russell has had a dreadful accident in the Park. His horse ran away with him in Rotten Row, and crushed him against the iron rails; he is in a precarious state.

April 2nd.—The Government were beaten last night by a

[1] The cruelties of the Piedmontese armies to the Neapolitan Royalists taken prisoners were unsurpassed in any civil war or by any tyrant.

majority of 11 on Mr. Sheridan's motion to reduce the duty on fire insurances. Both Lord Palmerston and Gladstone spoke against it.

There has been a naval engagement between two iron-clad ships in America. The Confederate ship 'Merrimac' destroyed two frigates, the 'Cumberland' and the 'Congress'; a third steam frigate was saved by the appearance of the 'Monitor,' which, after a fierce battle, compelled the 'Merrimac' to retire. They fought at close quarters, but without any effect, as the balls glanced off the sides. The 'Monitor,' being very low in the water, poured its shots into the lower part of the 'Merrimac,' which was not defended by iron plates.

April 10th.—Great exertions are being made to organise a society for raising a subscription to erect a memorial to the Prince Consort. Resolutions were passed unanimously at the Lord Mayor's, and a committee was formed consisting of Lord Salisbury, Lord Derby, myself, &c.

April 18th.—Good Friday. I left for Paris.

After two or three days I proceeded to Dijon, and thought I would try a new hotel close to the station. It was kept by a young man who had just entered business, named David, and his wife was a super-excellent cook. He gave me some very fine trout for dinner, which led to a conversation upon fishing, and I found that my landlord was a great admirer of the art, and was constantly going to Dôle to fish in the river Louve. He informed me that I could reach it in two hours by rail to Dôle; and by enquiring at a fisherman's at Parex he would put me in the way of having good sport. I therefore diverged from the

course of my journey to Dôle, and, putting up at a very bad inn, proceeded to the small village of Parex. Here I found the fisherman, quite ready to accompany me. He lived close by the river, which is a very fine and rapid stream descending from the Jura. We started in his boat, and for two hours tried in vain with a rod. Tired of this, he then produced a long trammel-net, which he laid outside the bushes on the banks of the river. In a short time we pulled out a trout of seven pounds, and several smaller ones. I went back to Dôle in the evening, carrying my spoil with me, and sent the trout as a present to Lord Cowley at Paris. This fisherman rented about two miles of the river Louve for ten pounds a year, and must have made it a profitable business.

Returning to Dijon, I went on to Lyons, where a new park has just been made, but too far from the town for general use. On climbing up to the church of Notre Dame de Fourvières, which is supposed to be a cure for the lame, I found the most magnificent panorama that can be seen—the Rhône and the Saône dividing the town at one's feet, and the white Alps in the far distance bounding a splendid open country. In the church of Notre Dame there were thousands of votive offerings, with a representation in painting of every illness, accident, and misfortune to which human nature is liable, and from which we must suppose the donors were saved or recovered. Remains of the Roman masonry were everywhere to be seen.

On leaving Lyons I stopped at Nîmes; and I think the Pont du Gard, a few miles from the town, is, after the Coliseum, the grandest remains of the Roman Empire. It is in the greatest perfection, and still spans the river unharmed. Spring was everywhere breaking out, and the

scent of the wild thyme was delicious. I could not resist the temptation of bathing in the blue pool below the bridge. I stayed some days at Nîmes, enjoying the most splendid weather, and visiting the Maison Carrée, an old Roman temple turned into a museum, in which is the famous picture by Delaroche of Oliver Cromwell standing over the body of Charles I. I was so struck with it that I sent Mr. Middleton to Nîmes to copy it, which he did with great success. The Easter holidays being over, I returned to London on May 14. I stopped in Paris for a ball at the Tuileries, and was very well received by the Emperor. During my absence the Federals and Confederates had had several engagements, with various success on both sides.

May 17th.—Dined at Lady Ailesbury's, and went afterwards to Lady Palmerston's party and Lady Carrington's ball.

May 19th.—We went to the Exhibition; it was the first half-crown day, which accounts for the increased number of visitors. We dined with Lady Tankerville, and met there Vladimir Davidoff, whose wife, a Georgian, left him for Prince Bariatinski, who was his commanding officer and general in the Caucasus. He never could get any redress from the Emperor or the Russian laws, if there are any.

May 20th.—I took Vladimir Davidoff to the Royal Academy. There are some beautiful landscapes by Stanfield, Lee, Creswick, and Cooper, and some pretty *tableaux de genre* by Millais, finished like miniatures; some portraits by Grant, none good, and that of Lady Mary Craven atrocious.

May 22*nd.*—I went with Vladimir to the Zoological, which seemed to amuse him; but he is very low, not only about his wife, but from the destruction of all his prospects in life. At the time the *esclandre* took place he was on the point of being made a general; and if he had chosen to connive at his own dishonour, his career might have been a brilliant one so far as satisfying his ambition. Now, all hopes of advancement are at an end, and he has left the army; his having challenged Bariatinski, who was his commander-in-chief, and has been a great hero, makes all chance of promotion impossible.

May 23*rd.*—There is a rumour that the Confederates have been defeated and Beauregard taken prisoner, which everybody regrets. The feeling for the South is very strong in society.

June 2*nd.*—A meeting took place to-day at the Duke of Marlborough's to agree about the amendment to Mr. Stansfeld's resolution respecting the national expenses and the necessity for retrenchment; 186 attended. Lord Derby addressed them, and was much cheered.

June 3*rd.*—Dined with the Marlboroughs; a small party. Mr. Damer came from the House of Commons, and told us the excitement there was intense. Lord Palmerston made a very dictatorial speech, declaring that Mr. Walpole's amendment to Mr. Stansfeld's resolution was in effect a vote of want of confidence. Mr. Walpole said that the House had been placed, by what Lord Palmerston had said, in a position of great difficulty. The object was to determine whether the House would come to any resolution as to the

mode and direction in which reduction and expenditure should be made. Mr. Stansfeld then proposed his resolution, after which Disraeli made a clever speech; and after two others from Mr. Horsman and Cobden, Mr. Walpole got up and withdrew his amendment. Disraeli rose and made the most violent diatribe against Mr. Walpole, to the disgust of almost all the Conservative party, who feared to disturb the Government and risk a dissolution, which Lord Palmerston threatened. The division took place upon the original resolution, and it was negatived by 367 to 65.

It is reported that General Butler governs New Orleans with the utmost severity, and has issued an order that all ladies or women who show dislike or contempt for the Federals by word, look, or gesture, are to be treated as women of the town. Meanwhile, the French expedition to Mexico bears the fruit that might have been expected. They have sustained a reverse at Puebla, and their communications with Vera Cruz are cut off; if so, they will make a great outcry against us for deserting them, as they will call it, of course saying nothing of our reasons, which were that they broke the treaty which they had made jointly with England and Spain, in consequence of which the English and Spanish troops left them to carry on their operations alone.

June 17th.—No details are yet published, beyond those that the French attacked the heights of Guadalupe, were repulsed, and retreated upon Vera Cruz. The Emperor has ordered the immediate despatch of a brigade of 5,000 men; but the whole expedition is a great mistake, as there is no feeling in Mexico for the French and against Juarez; it has

been got up by the priest-party in France, strongly supported by the Empress.

Lord Canning died this morning. Poor fellow! he has had little enjoyment of his hard-won honours. Supported by his admirable wife, he was put in one of the most trying situations a man could endure, and when the rebellion was quenched, and his anxieties at an end, he came home only to die. We were very intimate friends.

June 25th.—The Duchess of Cambridge and Princess Mary dined with us, also the Carnarvons, Baths, Lady Cowley and daughter, Count Apponyi, Count Vitzthum, Count Wimpffen.

July 2nd.—The Duke of Athole has a beautiful cow exhibited at the Battersea Agricultural Show. The dairy-maid who has the care of the cow appears in a sort of costume, very becoming, and is of course much admired by gentlemen. The Duke attended upon her and the cow, bringing hay and water for the latter. One day he and the dairymaid sat together on a bundle of straw, eating sandwiches, and she and the cow were the admiration of society.

The civil war in America continues without any positive advantage on either side.

July 14th.—We went to Stafford House, where there was a breakfast for the Viceroy of Egypt and about forty people.

Mr. Mason, the Confederate, called upon me this morning, and told me that the battle before Richmond had lasted six days. He has four sons in the Confederate army.

July 31.—Lord Palmerston stated in the House that the

manufacturers had sold the cotton which they ought to have kept to work their mills, utterly unmindful of the starving people round them. Mr. Cobden was furious, and said that 'the assertion was but another instance of that habitual recklessness and incorrectness for which the Premier was remarkable.'

August 11th.—I left London for Lowther Castle. News from Italy is bad; Garibaldi is apparently in open rebellion against Victor Emanuel, and is raising an army in Sicily to march upon Rome. There is little doubt that the King is playing a deceitful game, and secretly encouraging Garibaldi.

August 24th.—Garibaldi is in Sicily, and has taken Catania, where he has seized the Treasury, and is levying forced contributions. The general feeling seems to be in favour of the King, who, at last, has issued a proclamation against him, and is going to send a large force under Cialdini to Sicily.

August 27th.—Garibaldi has landed in Calabria, and is advancing on Reggio, whilst Cialdini is sent to Sicily, thereby humbugging the Government of Victor Emanuel.

Lord Ranelagh to Lord M.

London: August 30, 1862.

Dear Malmesbury,—I have just returned from the Camp of Châlons, and am for many reasons very glad I went there; the military portion of what I saw will keep until we meet. The Emperor was very civil and kind to me. After dinner I made a point of talking about you, and told him what an old and real friend you were of his, and regretted that those Whigs had done all they

could to make mischief between you, &c. &c. He seemed to think that you had been in Paris very often without calling upon him; which I explained by the difficulty you had in calling upon him without its making a good deal of jealousy over here. However, I said it would be all right next year, as you would be Foreign Secretary.

I was very much struck by a conversation about America, for in the most open manner after dinner he said he was quite ready to recognise the *South*, but Palmerston would not do so, and he could not unless Palmerston did. The result of this (pretended?) frankness is that Slidell in Paris tells everyone that England is the cause of the South not being recognised. He abuses England and says we are their enemy; in fact, we are in the happy position of being hated by both North and South. I think you may look out for some curious results in Italy. I can only mention one little fact. Young Murat, when I was at Châlons, told a French lady friend of mine that he had an idea that he may be wanted before long at Naples! He said it was a great bore, but still it was his duty to go if wanted.

. . . . . .

Yours truly,

RANELAGH.

September 1*st*.—The news of Garibaldi's capture is confirmed. He was attacked on August 29 at Aspromonte, ten miles from Reggio, by Colonel Pallavicini. He is said to have had 2,000 men, and had intrenched himself in a strong position. This was carried by the King's troops after an obstinate defence, and Garibaldi wounded and taken prisoner.

September 3*rd*.—The account given in to-day's papers of Garibaldi's capture increases my suspicion that the whole affair is a cross, the object being to prove to Europe that Italy never can be quiet until she gets Rome. The Piedmontese Press already begins urging the withdrawal of the French troops on this plea.

September 13*th.*—The Federals and Confederates continue to gain victories by turns, and I see no daylight as yet to show the result of this bloody war. Rattazzi has sent sixteen surgeons and physicians to Garibaldi, and his English sympathisers have sent a surgeon of the name of Partridge to him.

September 15*th.*—General Lee has gained a victory. Both armies were in great numbers, but the Federals were obliged to retreat, leaving all their wounded on the field.

September 19*th, Heron Court.*—Mr. and Mrs. Augustus Paget and Lord Ranelagh arrived. Mr. Paget is the first person who suggested the Princess Alexandra for the Prince of Wales, and negotiations were commenced a year ago. Mrs. Paget says she is beautiful—lovely eyes and good teeth. She is tall and graceful, with a good figure.

Our whole party went to play at croquet at Hinton. Grantley Berkeley and his son appeared in costume: Garibaldi shirts, knickerbockers and coloured stockings, hats with feathers. They looked very ridiculous.

October 1*st.*—The Confederates have been reinforced by Stonewall Jackson, who, after his capture of the fort of Harper's Ferry, where he took 8,000 prisoners, stores and guns, crossed the Potomac to assist General Lee, who was hard pressed by McClellan. The battle that ensued on the 17th must have been the bloodiest of the war. The Federals own to a loss of 10,000 men. General Mansfield was killed, and twelve other generals wounded. The Federals claim the victory, though their enemies did not retire till the evening of the 18th.

October 5th.—Lady M. went to Knowsley. I started to-day for Paris.

After staying a week at Paris, I left it for Nevers and Moulins, wishing to see the centre of France. It is infinitely preferable in every way to the old route by which most Englishmen travel to Lyons. When once you reach Auvergne nothing can be more picturesque than the country. Moulins and Nevers have all the character of old French towns, and when you arrive at Clermont you are *en pleine Auvergne*. There are many ruined old castles perched upon inaccessible places, and which, at times, belonged to great feudal families, and at others to robbers, who had taken possession of them during the absence of their masters in the wars of the Middle Ages.[1] Clermont is a large town without ornament or natural beauty, but very interesting from its historical associations. Within a few miles is the hill on which stood the camp of Vercingetorix, who gave Cæsar more trouble than any of his enemies. On the mountains stood the great city of the Gauls, which he took after repeated repulses. A large number of men are now excavating and laying bare its remains by orders of the Emperor, who is at this time writing a life of Julius Cæsar, and very much wrapped up in the subject. I drove here from Clermont, and, curiously enough, a large eagle was soaring over the hill during the whole time of my stay. From Clermont I took a carriage to Mont d'Or, a distance of forty or fifty miles through the wildest possible country. I had visited the Puy-de-Dôme, the highest of the volcanoes, which were exhausted, probably, before the existence of man, for there is no history, or even tradition, of their being

[1] *Vide* Froissart.

active since his creation. On arriving at a sort of station-house at the foot of the mountain, where the horses were to rest, I heard a roar like that of a wild beast, and suddenly a large donkey, which was feeding in the meadow, rushed at full gallop at one of my horses, and fixed his teeth in his neck. It required several men to drive off this savage brute, which had upset all the ideas I had formed of his race as seen in England.

From this station-house I took a strong two-wheeled cart, drawn by two powerful cart-horses, harnessed tandem, up to the observatory at the top of the mountain. The path was rough, narrow, zig-zag, and almost perpendicular, with nothing between me and eternity if the horses chanced to slip or the harness gave way. Whenever we came to a turn in the road, the guide gave a flick to the horse in the shafts to prevent his turning too short, the effect of which was that the outside wheel was constantly almost over a precipice of thousands of feet. At the observatory they keep a magnificent breed of mastiffs, and received me hospitably with a cup of coffee, which I was glad enough to get. The wind is so violent at that height that it nearly carries even those accustomed to it off their feet and over the precipice. From there I had a magnificent panorama of the entire country, showing its volcanic formation, and on descending the other side of the mountain had an experience of the force of the wind, which blew me and the guide flat on our faces by a sudden gust, just on the edge of an extinct crater, called the Nid de Poule, from its perfect shape, covered with fine turf and extremely deep.

The country about Mont d'Or is very picturesque and wooded, with a beautiful trout stream flowing under the town. The inns, which are more like *pensions* than hotels,

are comfortable, with plenty of horses, both for carriages and riding, at the service of visitors. I returned to Clermont, and from there went to Lyons, and back to Paris by Geneva.

On my return to Paris I went on a visit to Chamarande, a *château* given by the Emperor to Persigny, who has furnished it with great taste and luxury. It is of Louis XIII.'s time, and a very fine house, on the main road from Paris to Lyons, near Étampes. The Emperor and Empress arrived there at one o'clock on the 27th, and returned late the same night to St. Cloud. The time was passed in discussing a substantial luncheon and dinner—served after the English fashion—and in driving about the park, which is large and picturesque, all rock and heather, like Fontainebleau. I found the Emperor strong for the American Confederates, and anxious to propose, together with England and Russia, an armistice of six months to the combatants, during which time the blockade should be raised. He thought that if they could be muzzled for that time they would not begin again. The position of the two armies is that of mutual observation on the Potomac after the drawn battle of Antietam. The Emperor did not enter upon politics with me except on this question, but seemed much absorbed in the internal improvements of France, asking me many questions on the state of the provinces I had seen, and seeming to think that his trade and commerce were capable of enormous development. He was also much occupied with the life of Julius Cæsar, which he is writing, and told me that in one of Cæsar's camps in Auvergne a splendid silver vase had been found, which could only have belonged to himself. Persigny and others look upon this and discoveries of the same sort as apocryphal, and say that his Majesty is perpetually victimised by those who know his hobby for Cæsarian

relics, to the extent that one officer got three promotions for successive trovers of the kind. He has, however, great knowledge of this period of history, and his excavations in the camp of Gergovia, which I saw, have laid bare the foundations of a large Gaulish city still perfect. After dinner, the Emperor, Morny, Persigny, Pietri, and I smoked together. The conversation fell upon painters and pictures, about which the Emperor professed complete ignorance, and, indeed, showed it by confusing, in his usual unaffected and natural manner, the names of the most famous. In the same way he spoke of the great French national vice of vanity, which would admit of no merit equal to their own in all things, and the general mediocrity in every art, excepting mechanics, physics, and chemistry. We then got upon Home and spiritualism, which I saw he half believed in; and as he had been speaking of the many doubtful pictures in the Louvre, I suggested that it was desirable that Mr. Home should call up Titian's spirit and ask him whether he really painted the portrait of Francis I. which is in that gallery. Morny and Pietri took advantage of this to laugh at his belief, upon which he looked displeased, saying that if we could explain all we believed our religion would be a very easy task.

I returned to Paris in the Royal carriage—a large omnibus—the party being M. and Madame de Morny, M. and Madame Walewski, and the two ladies in waiting, one of whom, Madame de Pierre, an American, *née* Thorne, and the Duchess de Morny, a Russian, just married, smoked all the way in the Empress's face, notwithstanding her plain hints against the proceeding. She is much too good-natured to her *entourage*, but enhances her singular beauty by the most natural gaiety and fascination of manner. The *genre* of the

women about her, with the exception of Madame Walewska, is vile. Their hair is dragged off their faces so tightly that they can hardly shut their eyes, and their scarlet accoutrements, jackets, cloaks, &c., as they happen to be very fair, made an *ensemble* indescribably unbecoming.

I had a conversation of above an hour with the Empress on politics, chiefly on the Roman question. Thouvenel had just been dismissed as being too anti-Papal, and as leaning to the abandonment of his Holiness, and Drouyn de l'Huys has replaced him. The Empress did not, as I expected, treat the subject as a *dévote*, though she said that no scandal could be greater than an exiled Pope with no foot of earth belonging independently to himself, and that the honour of France was engaged to protect him from being driven out of Rome; that, if he were, the Austrians would come to his rescue, and France have no right to prevent it, as, by the treaty of Zürich with Austria, the Pope was to be maintained; that the Italians should be satisfied, for the time, with what they had got, and not attempt impossibilities, but organise what they possessed; that there was no such thing in Italy as an organising mind or a man of business.[1] She came to the charge about the English Press and its abuse of the Emperor. This is a *parti pris*, and, I believe, only meant to elicit a denial of our hostility. I had an easy reply to her assertion that such a feeling existed, by reminding her of her own reception in England and Scotland two years ago, when she was obliged to escape from the ovation she met with. To this she succumbed, as she was evidently

[1] The Emperor came from the war much disgusted with the Italians, and Cavour, who, with Prince Napoleon and other *intrigants*, were encouraging Mazzini and the other Republicans to extend the theatre to Tuscany and Rome, the Emperor never intending to create an independent kingdom on the side of France.

delighted with her journey to England. I went over with her the old ground of my policy previous to the Italian war, as I had done with the Emperor last year, and told her of my having sent him a copy of my despatch to Prussia, preventing that Government from joining Austria, and thus localising the war. Neither Cowley nor Walewski had ever told the Emperor this important fact, and last year I sent the Emperor the copy privately by the Duke of Hamilton.

On arriving at Paris, Bacciocchi drove me home in his carriage. Whilst at Chamarande I observed that Persigny had got a complete record of the *château* and its antecedents, going back for three centuries, and taken from the archives of the small town adjoining. It is very remarkable how the local history of these places has been preserved in France, whilst in our minor towns no such records have been kept to which the historian could refer. This may be explained by the fact that there was no Protestant Reformation in France, as in England, where the libraries and journals of the monks were savagely destroyed by the Reformers.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

Knowsley: October 31, 1862.

My dear Malmesbury,—I have delayed answering or thanking you for your very interesting letter from Geneva until the time when you would probably be back in England; and though I have not heard of your arrival, I know that Lady Malmesbury expected you about this time. In the first place I am sorry to say that our attempt at a party for the 25th has been so much interfered with by the rival attractions of Longleat and Wilton for the same week, that we have reluctantly been obliged to put it off altogether; and though you know that we should be glad to see you at any time, yet I hope that it will not be inconvenient to you to revert to your original intention, and to come to us the following week, the first in December, instead. It would be an additional pleasure to us to see

Lady Malmesbury with you; but I am afraid she will hardly venture at that time of year.

I think John Russell is getting us into all sorts of complications; and that the state of Europe becomes more and more critical every day. What on earth does he mean by turning round on Denmark, and taking up all at once the Prussian views about the Duchies? And how will Palmerston stand it, the original author of the Protocol which was the basis of the treaty of 1852? I cannot help connecting with this affair, and perhaps with a renewed misunderstanding arising out of it with his old *friend* and colleague, the sudden and mysterious postponement of the Cabinet which was to have been held a week ago; and which seems to have been put off *sine die*, so absolutely at the last moment, that the Ministers had all come up to town for it, including the Duke of Argyll all the way from Scotland! It is evident, too, that we are on the point of a quarrel with Russia, whose intrigues, I have no doubt, have led to the revolution which has broken out in Greece; though I should be sorry to swear that our ubiquitous friend Louis Napoleon has not thought that a little *imbroglio* in the East might serve to distract attention from the difficulties and embarrassments of the Italian question. The Greek affair, I am afraid, may be most formidable, and altogether, with Prussia in a state of quasi-revolution, and with the Italian, Greek, Montenegrin, Danish, and Polish questions all in a ferment at once, I can hardly imagine a more unpleasant state of foreign affairs. The American war, too, appears to be as far from a solution as ever. In the meantime the distress here is rapidly and fearfully augmenting, and we fully expect that by Christmas there will be over 250,000 paupers in twenty-four unions! They are already 186,000 against 43,000 last year. The prospects for the winter, especially if it should be a severe one, are fearful; and, admirably as the people have behaved hitherto, it is impossible to say what continued and aggravated suffering may lead them to.[1]

Ever yours sincerely, DERBY.

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[1] This period of Lord Derby's life will redound for ever to his honour. He devoted all his business-like qualities, his valuable time and great fortune to the relief of his suffering countrymen; and it must also be added that his noble and successful exertions were fully appreciated in all parts of England.

November 2nd.—Arrived in London. During my absence abroad the American Civil War had been raging continually with various success. Some Englishmen made considerable fortunes by running the blockade, many others lost all they possessed by being captured. But this species of smuggling induced many to invest money on the chance; men who did not appear on the surface employed adventurers to do the work.

November 14th.—Drouyn de l'Huys has written to Lord Russell to propose a joint mediation to induce the Americans to consent to a truce for six months. It is said there was a stormy discussion in the Cabinet in consequence; the result, a refusal to interfere at present, as the Americans would decline the proposal.

November 18th.—Baron Gros is appointed Ambassador in the place of M. de Flahault. I suspect he is only a stop-gap, and we shall have the Persignys later. The 'Times' of to-day has a strong article against Lord Russell's despatch of September 24 relating to Denmark. It is a most extraordinary and offensive one, giving advice upon subjects of internal administration, in which we have no business to meddle, and, in fact, re-opening the whole question of Schleswig and Holstein, saying Holstein and Lauenburg should have everything the German Confederation asks for them. This restless and impotent meddling is peculiarly ill-timed on the eve of the marriage of the Prince of Wales with a Danish Princess.

November 20th.—Lord Russell wrote his despatch to Mr. Paget[1] some days before he left Gotha. Mr. Meade,

[1] Then Her Majesty's Minister at Copenhagen.

who remained behind, telegraphed to the Foreign Office to announce Lord Russell's departure in these words: 'Earl Russell has skedaddled.' As the message was in cypher, and such a word as 'skedaddle' was unknown, they were obliged to telegraph back to know what he meant. These jokes might be extremely inconvenient.

November 22nd.—News is arrived that General McClellan is dismissed from the chief command of the Federal army. He submitted quietly, professing respect for the constitution, and retired to his own home.

November 24th.—Sir Henry Wolff has had a long conversation with Lord Palmerston about the affairs of Greece. He is anxious that Prince Alfred should accept the crown, and that England should give up the Ionian Islands, the Turks giving up Albania. I conclude that Wolff would get compensation for losing his lucrative place there; Disraeli has promised him a place if he would devote himself and his pen to our party. He is fond of writing, and writes well.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

Knowsley: November 25, 1862.

My dear Malmesbury,—I quite agree in your view of the proposal, which I conclude will be made, and I fear will be accepted, of placing Prince Alfred on the throne of Greece. It appears to me the greatest possible blunder, whether we look at it in its immediate effects upon our relations with France and Russia, or at the interests of the Prince himself, or at the complications which our connection with such a throne and such a people must infallibly produce. I wonder that the Queen should have given her consent; I am certain that the Prince never would have done so. If this step be finally taken, I suppose it must be mentioned in the Queen's Speech; and if it be, it will be difficult to avoid an amendment, and impossible to join in an expression of congratulation.

I did not answer your former letter, partly because I thought you would find some answer to your inquiries in a letter of mine to Mr. Kingscote, which he published about the day you wrote; and partly because my time is so fully occupied in answers to similar letters, and in other correspondence, and in attendance at Manchester. I shall be glad to talk over the subject with you next week; but with respect to the breakdown of the Poor Law, I will say, first, that though no *one* rate of a high figure has been levied, there have been two or three in the course of the year in some towns, which have amounted in the whole to 7*s.* 10*d.* and 11*d.* on the solvent property, every new rate finding fewer people able to pay it; and next, that the pressure of a poor-rate which is levied on the occupiers is not to be measured by the actual amount, but by the sudden increase on the normal figure. The former is taken into account in settling rent, and falls on real property; the latter falls exclusively on the occupiers, who in this case are themselves on the verge of pauperism. You are quite right, however, when you say that the pressure would have been comparatively light had the law of Elizabeth remained unaltered, and personal as well as real property been liable; as it is, no increase of rates will reach the vast amount of realised wealth, except that very small fraction of it which is invested in buildings and machinery. I must say, however, that some of the mill-owners have behaved nobly under great difficulties, some of them quite the reverse; but, as a class, they have done far more than the wealthy bankers, merchants, brokers, and other speculators, some of whom have made enormous sums in cotton, and whose contributions are very much below what they ought to be. I hope our county meeting will catch some of them. Ever yours,

DERBY.

November 30th.—I hear that Lord Russell has recanted his Danish despatch, which confirms the suspicion that it was written without the knowledge of Lord Palmerston.

December 7th.—Count Sabouroff, a young Russian, called and told us that his valet was walking in Bond Street at one o'clock this afternoon, when the streets were full of people coming out of church, and he saw two men attack a

gentleman, rob him of his watch, and run away. They were pursued, and one was caught.

December 8th.—We spent three days at Savernake, and went thence to Highclere, where we were very kindly received. Lord Carnarvon and I talked about necromancy and spiritualism. He told me that he had read a great number of books upon the Black Art, and in some found *formulæ* of so horrible a nature that they quite haunted him.

December 12th.—We drove over the park, which is fourteen miles in circumference, and the most beautiful I think I ever saw—miles of green drives through, rhododendrons, enormous beeches, and cedars in every direction. I never was more delighted with any drive in England.

December 13th.—Sir Henry Wolff told me that he knew from a good source the Government had decided to give up the Ionian Islands to Greece if the Powers who signed the Treaty of Vienna in 1815 consented.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

(Dictated by Lord Derby.)

December 23, 1862.

The cession of the Ionian Islands is decided upon. I learn this positively this morning by a letter from Stanley, on the authority of Cornewall Lewis, whom he met at Chevening. There is to be a Congress to decide what is to be done with them. The cession includes Corfu. I think the measure at any time one of very doubtful policy, but the present moment appears to me singularly ill-chosen. The islands were entrusted to our keeping as a maritime Power which could, and would, keep down the system of piracy by which those coasts have been so long infested, and the occupation gave us a naval position highly important in case of a European war, as influencing our hold upon the Adriatic and the Levant, and these are considerations which ought not to have been lightly overlooked.

At the same time it is not to be denied that the occupation was accompanied by considerable expense and some inconvenience, that the Constitution was absolutely unworkable, and that the Government was only carried on by a continual violation of its spirit, even when there was adherence to its letter. Taking all this into consideration, there might have been much to say in favour of the cession, could they have been handed over to a Government willing to accept the responsibility, firmly established, politically and financially, and with sufficient power and self-control to keep an excitable people from insane schemes of aggression upon their neighbours. But it strikes me as the height of folly to make a gratuitous offer of cession, and to throw the islands at the head of a nation in the very throes of Revolution, the form of whose government is yet undecided—much more so, the person of the sovereign, if they are to have a sovereign—whose finances are bankrupt, whose naval power is insignificant, and the first of whose political aspirations is accession of territory at the expense of a war with its most powerful neighbour. I cannot conceive greater improvidence than making the offer of the cession under such circumstances. If accepted, while it will diminish our prestige in the East, it cannot but lead to future and embarrassing complications; and if from any circumstances the cession should not be accepted, the offer will not have added to our facilities for governing the islands. You will see that generally I agree in the view which our papers have taken, though I think they have been too sweeping in their condemnation of the idea of cession at any time and under any circumstances.

Yours truly,

DERBY.

1863

January 30th.—The Federals have been repulsed with great loss at Vicksburg; the army of the Potomac is thoroughly demoralised, disgusted with their generals, in whom they have no confidence, and mortified at their defeats.

February 9th.—The insurrection in Poland is increasing

every day, and in many places the Russians have been defeated. The King of Prussia has sent a strong body of troops to his frontier. The feud between him and his Parliament grows more bitter every day, and neither side will give way. It is a struggle between freedom and despotism, the King attacking the Constitution by insisting that the Parliament should have no control over the expenditure of the army. Looking at the safety of the country, no doubt he is right, and time will prove it.

My youngest brother is made Archdeacon of Wilts by the Bishop of Salisbury, who has also given him the living of Bremhill, the two together worth about 700*l.* a year; but it is a large parish, and he must keep two curates.

Mr. Charles Lever[1] *to Lord M.*

Hôtel d'Odessa, Spezia: February 16, 1863.

My dear Lord,—I am sincerely obliged by your Lordship's note in acknowledgment of Barrington.

I am sure you are right in your estimate of Kinglake's book.[2] Such diatribes are no more history than the Balaclava charge was war. It was, however, his brief to make out the Crimean war a French intrigue, and he obeyed the old legal maxim in a different case—'Abuse the plaintiff's attorney.'

Italy is something farther from union than a year ago. In dealing with the brigandage Piedmont has contrived to insult the feelings and outrage the prejudices of the South by wholesale invectives against all things Neapolitan. French intrigues unquestionably help to keep up the uncertainty which all Italians feel as to the future, and the inadequacy of the men in power here contributes to the same end. Indeed, what Kinglake says of the

[1] The novelist and Consul at Spezia.

[2] Alluding to his abuse of Louis Napoleon and charging him with personal cowardice. No man could be less exposed to such an accusation. I saw him jump off the bridge over the Rhône at Geneva when a youth, and all men can feel what must have been his agonies when riding all day at the Battle of Sedan with his deadly malady upon him.

English generals—questioning how the Great Duke would have dealt with the matter before them—might be applied to Italian statesmen as regards Cavour. They have not a shadow of a policy, save in their guesses as to how *he* would have treated any question before them. To get 'steerage way' on the nation, Cavour had to launch her into a revolution; but if these people try the same experiment they are like to be shipwrecked.

It would be both a pride and a pleasure to me to send your Lordship tidings occasionally of events here if you cared for it. Meanwhile I am, with sincere respect, most faithfully yours,

CHARLES LEVER.

February 18th.—The Confederates have gained a naval victory at Charleston. They sank two gun-boats and drove off the rest.

February 20th, London.—We went to the Lyceum to see 'The Duke's Motto,' translated from 'Le Bossu.' Fechter acts the part of Lagardère beautifully; Miss Leclercq is too fat and fair for the gipsy; Miss Terry did Blanche de Nevers very nicely, and like a lady.

February 27th.—Met Count Kielmansegge. He has to attend the Prince of Wales's marriage. The invitations are limited to the Garters and their wives, who must be asked, the Corps Diplomatique, the Foreign Princes and their suites, with the entire household of the Queen and of the late Prince. The procession on the 7th is to pass through London at a trot, which will disappoint the public, who will hardly be able to see the Princess; the Lord Mayor is not to go, as his equipage and attendants are obliged to walk, and had he headed the procession all the carriages must have gone at a foot's pace. The Corporation met in great indignation at this interference with their rights; so he is to be permitted to head the procession as far as Temple Bar.

February 28th.—There was a Drawing Room held by the Princess of Prussia.

March 6th.—The French are very sore at the refusal of the American Government to accept their mediation, and at the peremptory contradiction by Mr. Seward of M. Mercier's despatch.

The insurrection in Poland is gaining strength, and the French Emperor has written to the Czar advising him to make concessions, 'and to give to Poland large and serious guarantees in conformity with treaties and with the principles of civilisation.' But it is not likely that France will assist Poland by arms, as that would interfere with their policy with respect to Turkey, which is founded on an *entente cordiale* with Russia.

March 7th.—We went to Lord Willoughby's house at a quarter before one to see the entry of the Princess. The houses along Piccadilly were decorated, with few exceptions, but I saw nothing really pretty except Lord Willoughby's and Lord Cadogan's. There were a good many people in the drawing-room. It was the coldest day we have had for a long time; no sun, with occasional showers, and we were half frozen standing on the balconies. The Duke of Cambridge rode by two or three times with his staff, and was greatly cheered. Lord Ranelagh passed at the head of his brigade of Volunteers. Then appeared the royal carriages; and I was never more surprised and disappointed. The first five contained the suite and brothers and sisters of the Princess Alexandra; the carriages looked old and shabby, and the horses very poor, with no trappings, not even rosettes, and no outriders. In short, the shabbiness of the whole *cortège* was beyond anything one could imagine, everybody

asking, 'Who is the Master of the Horse?' The Princess kept bowing right and left very gracefully. The moment the procession had passed, the crowd dispersed, but there were universal remarks and compliments on the Princess's beauty.

March 8th.—I saw Lord Derby to-day; he is still confined to his bed, and looks very ill. He says that the Queen has invited the Disraelis to the wedding. I hear that on the arrival of the Prince and Princess at Slough the horses of the first carriage jibbed, and the leaders of the second turned right round upon the wheelers, the harness got entangled, and the confusion was very great. Altogether, everything done by the Court authorities was bad, and the management of the City no less so. All offers of assistance were refused; both the Duke of Cambridge's of cavalry and Sir Richard Mayne's of police to keep the line in the City were declined, and the result was that the streets were quite blocked up, and if it had not been for the good temper of the people some terrible catastrophe must have occurred. As it was, there was great danger opposite the Mansion House, and the Danes were very much frightened; the Prince of Wales, on his side, showing great coolness. To make up for these deficiencies, those who were present say that nothing could exceed the splendour of the scene in St. George's Chapel. The foreigners were all much struck with it; it was so grand as to be quite overpowering. Mr. Paget confirmed all I had heard of the confusion on the departure of the special train for London. The Duchess of Westminster, who had on half a million's worth of diamonds, could only find place in a third-class carriage, and Lady Palmerston was equally unfortunate. Count Lavradio had his diamond star torn off and stolen by the roughs.

March 13th.—Second reading of Mr. Adderley's Security from Violence Bill passed by a majority of 131 to 68, in spite of the opposition of Sir George Grey, who objected to garotters being flogged, saying that some were too delicate to undergo the punishment, to which some one replied that if a man was strong enough to rush out like a tiger and strangle another man, he was strong enough to bear a flogging.

March 20th.—We went to a party at St. James's Palace, and arrived in time to see the entry of the Prince and Princess of Wales, but it struck me as very melancholy, when one considered the cause of the Queen's absence.

March 22nd.—News from Poland is bad for the Poles. A battle has taken place. The insurgents under the Dictator, Langiewicz, were defeated after a desperate fight, and gave themselves up to the Austrian hussars, who conducted them to Turnau.

March 25th.—I went to Windsor Castle and returned next day. The Queen was quite calm and even cheerful, and looks well, but she complains of not feeling strong and being unable to stand much.

The Prince of Wales asked me to smoke with him, Lord Sydney, and two other men, and we sat up till nearly two in the morning.

I went through Paris to Bordeaux on March 28, and was charmed with the appearance of the town, which gives one a perfect idea of a combination of business and pleasure.

The quays remind one much of Holland—a great activity of commerce and a perpetual noise of voices in every language; but, away from the shipping, the streets are ornamental and the shops handsome and luxurious. The dwellings of the great wine merchants seem to lie in a district of their own, and are not distinguishable by any advertisements or ostentatious names. The hotels are all so good that one can hardly choose between them, and the best claret is to be had in them without putting any pressure on the waiters. There is a magnificent equestrian statue of the Emperor in the principal square, and it was here that he proclaimed his dictum, 'L'Empire, c'est la paix,' which reassured Europe for a time, but was before long proved to be a convenient phrase only.

In an old tower which stands by itself there is one of the most horrible sights I ever beheld. Descending into a dungeon, you find a collection, not of skeletons, but of shrivelled mummies, for the skin and flesh are still on their bones, and they *stand* in a ring with every diabolical contortion of pain and rage in their faces. There are two stories respecting these dreadful remains—one is, that they were a whole family poisoned by mushrooms, whose death agonies were so terrible that they stiffened into the contortions I have described, and that, being afterwards buried without coffins in a peat soil, they were preserved in this horrible state; the second story is that they had been left to perish in the dungeon. I heard that the Emperor had given positive orders for them to be removed and buried, being much disgusted at the ghastly spectacle.

From Bordeaux I went to Bayonne and Biarritz, crossed the Bidassoa, and went as far as St. Sebastian. This country is full of associations, especially to an Englishman, for here the most desperate fighting took place between us and the

French in 1813, and between the river and Fuentarrabia the Paladins of Charlemagne fought and fell to a man. Returning on my steps, I went to Tarbes, and on my way visited the feudal castle of the Gramonts, Bidache, or rather its ruins. In the days of the famous Corisande it had as many windows as there are days in the year, but with the exception of a stable newly built on a large scale, and apparently useless, there is little to be seen. An old church in the village contains some of their family monuments. Tarbes has a good inn, and is famous for its horses.

From Tarbes I proceeded leisurely to Toulouse. I never saw so vile a pavement as in this great city, composed as it is of sharp flints. A cicerone showed me over the field of battle, on which our Duke and Marshal Soult were engaged, and where the Spaniards suffered so terribly. Proceeding by the railway, I stopped a day at Carcassonne, an ancient city, so famous for the desperate fighting of the Albigeois and the deeds of Simon de Montfort. The Emperor has had the city and fortifications restored exactly to the state they were in at that time; the streets are just wide enough for a cart to pass, and the towers and battlements are what they were in the thirteenth century. In every part of France he is making archæological restorations, and his active mind seems as much interested in this pursuit as it is in politics; but, as far as I can observe, the French do not appreciate his efforts as they deserve. From Carcassonne I went to Montpellier, which, to our ancestors, was what Cannes is now to us—namely, an asylum from the English climate. Whilst I was there, the weather was anything but genial, and I returned to London on May 10.

May 27th.—News has arrived from America of the death

of Stonewall Jackson. He was wounded in the battle of May 2; one ball striking him in the left arm near the shoulder, and another in the right hand. The arm was amputated, but he died on the 9th. The most melancholy part of it is that his death was the result of accident, his own men, who would have died for him, having shot him in a wood by mistake. This event will, I think, have a fatal effect on the prospects of the Confederates, for he was idolized by the whole army, who would have followed him anywhere, in full confidence that he was leading them to victory. He was only thirty-eight years of age.

June 4th.—Mr. Soames' bill to shut up public-houses on Sundays was rejected by 278 to 103.

June 7th.—All the elections in Paris have gone against the Government, showing strong feeling either against the Emperor or Persigny. The Opposition now number from twenty-five to thirty instead of five, and are almost all Red Republicans.

June 19th.—I spoke on the Brazilian question and on the conduct of Mr. Christie.[1] Lord Russell replied, but less well than usual, and the Government, seeing they were getting the worst of the debate after Lord Chelmsford's speech, and fearing that Lord Derby would get up, gave orders to their men not to answer Lord Chelmsford, and the debate was adjourned.

June 20th.—The French have taken Puebla, and are advancing upon Mexico.

[1] Mr. Christie, who had been a Liberal M.P., was made by Lord Palmerston Minister at Brazil, where his acts and language were very high-handed.

June 22*nd.*—I went to the Duchess of Buccleuch's ball, where the Princess of Wales was asked, and had dined.

June 23*rd.*—Went to Mrs. Rose's concert. Mario sang at the Opera, and did not come till late. I asked him what he thought of Titiens' 'Marguerite,' and he said: 'Elle chante bien, mais elle est trop grosse; elle ferait trois Marguerites.' He also said that the pitch at the Opera in England is three-quarters of a tone higher than abroad. The French pitch has been lowered, but Costa[1] will not change his, as it is more brilliant for the instruments; but it is very hard upon the singers, the more so as the modern operas are written extremely high, and if they have to sing three-quarters of a tone higher than the composer intended, it must be a terrible strain upon their voices.

July 1*st.*—We went to the Mansion House, where we were invited to a great dinner to meet Lord Derby. Almost all the principal members of the Conservative party were present, and it was a brilliant scene, though very long. Lord Derby's speech was extremely good, statesmanlike, and moderate, but giving no hope of his soon being in office.

July 5*th.*—Several people called, who told me that the scene in the House of Commons when the division took place on the vote for the purchase of the Exhibition building was extraordinary. Sir Stafford Northcote's speech was the signal for a storm, and he was forced to sit down. Disraeli had canvassed his supporters, telling them that he had a letter in his pocket from the Queen. This had a disastrous effect, and

[1] Sir Michael Costa died in 1884. I was at Naples when he left it in 1829 for England, with nothing but his talent for music to trust to. He became a general favourite in society as well as at the Opera, which he led for many years.

when he got up the hooting was so terrific that he could not be heard. Gladstone's speech had already excited great indignation, for it showed how completely the Government had deceived the House when Lord Palmerston had induced them to vote for the purchase of the land, leaving them under the delusion that the contractors for the Exhibition were bound to remove the building if it was not sold within a certain time. Gladstone had told them that there was no engagement of the sort, and that he believed they were not obliged to remove it at all. This, whether true or not, was taken as a menace to force them to buy the building, and infuriated the House of Commons the more, as Lord Elcho proved that the purchase would be a most disadvantageous one, entailing an enormous expense. So the House rose *en masse*, and, after a scene of the utmost confusion and excitement, defeated the Government by more than two to one; Gladstone and Disraeli looking equally angry.

July 13th.—We are deeply grieved to hear that our old friend, the Duke of Hamilton, has had a most serious accident. He left London last Friday, and dined that evening at a *café* in Paris with Mr. Henry Howard. On coming out at one o'clock in the morning he fell down the stairs, and was picked up senseless. I fear it will prove fatal.

July 15th.—We dined with the Chesterfields, where we heard of the Duke of Hamilton's death. It appears that he never rallied, except for a few minutes after the arteries of the temples had been opened, and he relapsed into a state of insensibility until his death. The Empress Eugénie was very kind, and remained with him until the arrival of the Duchess, who was at Baden.

We went to the Duchess of Wellington's concert.

A drawn battle has been fought between the armies of Lee and Meade. It began on July 1 and continued till the 3rd.

July 17th.—The Duchess of Hamilton and her daughter are gone to St. Cloud for the present. The sons remain in Paris, and accompany the body to Glasgow, where it is to be transported in a French man-of-war.

July 21st.—At Greenwich at the dinner which Lord Redesdale gives every year to the House of Lords.

July 26th.—News from America states that Vicksburg surrendered on July 4 unconditionally; the garrison, amounting to 31,000 men, having been paroled. Lee has retreated safely across the Potomac with all his artillery and the booty he took in Maryland. He has certainly lost prestige by the ill-success of his expedition.

August 1, Heron Court.—I went to London on my way to Dover, where Lord Willoughby d'Eresby's yacht was lying. He has been so kind as to lend her to me for the season. She is a very large lugger, built by himself. I went over to Boulogne in her with Lord Ranelagh and Colonel Knox, and, on my return to Calais, sent her to meet me at Cowes; but when I arrived there I found she had lost her foremast, being commanded by a very incompetent man. Lord Willoughby used her principally for fishing in Torbay, but she was a very bad sailer, being unable either to tack or to wear. I took her down Channel to the westward, to Torquay. To manage her sails properly she would require

thirty men, and I had only sixteen. Her mainsail had a thousand yards of canvas, and altogether I consider her a very unsafe vessel, though perfectly fit for fishing.

August 11th.—I returned to London and went to Lowther Castle, where there was an agreeable party. We went to Horswater, a most beautiful lake enclosed in hills; we netted it and caught a number of char.

Mr. Disraeli to Lord M.

Hughenden Manor: August 22, 1863.

My dear Malmesbury,—The Carlton and the Conservative Clubs are overflowing, and years must elapse before some men can enter them. They are also very exclusive. The Carlton rarely admits professional persons, and the Conservative only an insufficient percentage.

Taylor impresses on me the absolute necessity of a Junior Conservative, which shall be a central point for those country attorneys and land agents, &c., who are winning, and are to win, our elections. He thinks that it will powerfully organise and encourage our friends.

But there must be no mistake about the politics, and he wants, for trustees, Lord Derby, Lord Malmesbury, Mr. Disraeli, Lord Colville, Col. Taylor.

I have, at his suggestion, communicated with Lord Derby, who is favourable to the suggestion, if no liability is incurred by the trustees. This of course must be a *sine quâ non.*

What do you say to it? Yours sincerely, D.

September 10th, Heron Court.—The Duc de Gramont arrived from Folkestone in time for dinner. He is obliged to be at Vienna in six days. He had not seen Lady Tankerville, his aunt, for eleven years, and was anxious to do so. He told me it was very probable he might some day come as ambassador to England, but not whilst Lord Palmerston is Minister; for, besides that he could not get on with a

Whig Government, he and d'Azeglio are not friends, and as long as Palmerston is Premier d'Azeglio is all-powerful.

September 14th.—We went to Longleat, where I was laid up for two days with gout.

October 5th.—The news from America is that the Confederates under General Bragg, who had been reinforced by Generals Lee, Johnstone, and Beauregard, defeated General Rosenkranz after two days' severe fighting. The Confederates took above 2,000 prisoners and twenty guns.

On October 5 I left for Paris and thence started on a journey to Tours and down the Loire. After again visiting Chenonceaux and some other castles on the river, I stopped at Saumur, a town that is *à cheval* on this glorious stream. I went to see the old feudal tower of Monsereau, which was seized during the Revolution of 1789 by the populace and has been held by them ever since; there must be at least a dozen families inhabiting its ancient halls. I proceeded thence to the famous Abbey of Fontevrault, which is now a prison, but used to be a convent for ladies of the highest rank in France. In visiting the vaults I found the recumbent effigies, dressed in their royal robes, of our Henry II. and his wife, Eleanor of Guienne; their son, Richard Cœur-de-Lion; and Isabel d'Angoulême, widow of King John. The Republicans of the last century, who wished to destroy them, were prevented by some priests, who hid them away. They are very fine specimens of the work of that time. Henry and his son Richard are both of gigantic proportions, the latter being six feet six. It struck me as so sad a thing

to see these statues of the great Plantagenets cast away in the cellars of a French prison that I wrote to Persigny to entreat him to urge the Emperor from me to give them up to England, that they might be placed in Westminster Abbey. His answer to me for some reason miscarried, but when I did receive it, it regretted that at the present time the English and French Governments were not on a footing of cordiality, and that it was not a favourable moment for an interchange of compliments; but that if our Party came in again the Emperor would remember my request and would accede to it.[1] At this time Lord John Russell had expressed his disagreement with the Emperor on the subject of the Danish war and his wishes to have a European Conference in so rough a style that his despatches had created considerable animosity. I do not blame his disagreements, but the language in which he expressed them. The consequence was that I failed in my attempt to rescue these statues.

I went on from Saumur to Nantes, which is a fine and rich town, and famous, or rather infamous, for the 'Republican Marriages' and other horrors committed by the notorious Carrier. I then went on to St. Nazaire, a new town at the mouth of the Loire. On entering the public room of the inn I found about a dozen French officers at supper, bound for Mexico, in high spirits at going there. After returning to Nantes I went to see the famous Chateâu de Clisson, where the Vendeans in 1793 gained a great victory over the Republican troops, and were afterwards defeated, the

[1] In 1866, when Lord Derby was Premier for the third time he was informed by the Emperor that he would keep his promise if Lord Derby insisted upon it, but that when he signified his intention of doing so and ordered the removal of the effigies, the people of the district, although they had never taken any interest in them, showed so violent an opposition that he hoped Lord Derby would release him, which was done.

prisoners taken alive being thrown down a well, on the site of which a fine spruce fir is now growing. It reminded me of Cawnpore, with its sinister associations.

From Lord Malmesbury to Count Persigny.

Saumur: le 12 octobre 1863.

Mon cher Persigny,—Vous savez que durant mon veuvage politique je me plais souvent à parcourir la France. Cela vous expliquera pourquoi je vous écris d'une ville que personne ne visite que des commis-voyageurs, et qui cependant le mérite excessivement. Je m'adresse à vous pour vous faire une demande qui peut-être ne serait guère justifiée si nous n'étions de si anciens amis, et que je ne fus certain que vous en apprécieriez le motif. Maintenant au fait. J'ai été voir Fontevrault, cette ancienne abbaye si célèbre, et qui aujourd'hui (comme vous le savez), au lieu de contenir de belles et nobles nonnes, renferme un millier de scélérats de toutes les couleurs. Là, dans le coin obscur d'un caveau en ruine sont réléguées—*proh pudor!*—les statues de Henri II. et de son fils Richard Cœur-de-Lion, avec celles de leurs reines. C'est tout ce qui reste de ces grands rois d'Angleterre, dont les barbares de 1789 ont brisé et violé les tombes et dispersé les cendres. Ainsi, négligées, exploitées par un gardien de détenus, vues de presque personne dans leur position actuelle, ces effigies me semblent intéresser peu la France et être malheureusement inconnues et perdues pour l'Angleterre.

Croyez-vous que, si l'Empereur était informé de ces circonstances, il agirait avec sa générosité habituelle, et rendrait ces derniers souvenirs de la grande race des Plantagenets à Westminster Abbey où gîsent leurs aïeux et leur postérité? Mais, si toutefois S.M. pensait autrement, ne donnerait-il pas au rival et au compagnon d'armes de Philippe-Auguste un coin plus digne de cette large France dont jadis le 'Cœur de Lion' possédait le quart? Si, mon cher Persigny, ma réclamation vous paraît inconvenante ou mal imaginée, je me fie à votre amitié de ne pas en parler à sa Majesté, et de regarder cette lettre comme non-avenue. Je ne l'aurais écrite à personne que vous. Mille amitiés,

MALMESBURY.

November 1st.—The monster balloon at Paris has come

to grief, and M. and Madame Nadard are much hurt. The anchors would not hold, and the balloon dragged along the ground for several leagues, knocking over trees and doing much damage. It was finally stopped near Neuburg, and the passengers taken to Hanover.

The accounts from Prussia are very bad for the King. The elections are going on unfortunately for his Government, being more Liberal even than the last, and he has not the resource of another dissolution of the Chambers, as this is the third within the year; but he is apparently determined to have an army formed according to his own ideas.

The papers mention that the large ironclad steamer, the 'Prince Consort,' which was sent to Liverpool to prevent the two rams built by Mr. Laird from leaving for America, encountered the gale of last Friday in the Irish Channel, and put into Kingstown almost in a sinking state. She sprang a leak and had seven feet of water in her hold. Nothing but the most arduous exertions on the part of her officers and crew could keep her from going down.

November 4th.—I met Lord Palmerston in the train at Bishopstoke, where he was waiting for the Portsmouth train. He was much annoyed at the loss of his trees at Broadlands in the late storms. I lost many of mine, some elms as old as the time of Henry VIII.

November 7th.—The English papers consider the Emperor Napoleon's speech very pacific, but I cannot view it in that light, for though he declares he has no intention of going to war in support of the Poles at present, he calls upon the sovereigns of Europe to appoint a congress for the discussion of the Polish question and the settlement of others affecting the nationalities; adding, *that the treaties of* 1815 *are at*

an end, and that if the Great Powers refuse the Congress there must eventually be war. The Paris papers look upon this speech as threatening, and the Funds went down in consequence.

November 12*th*.—The Duke of Somerset, who dined with us, said that the ironclad steamer 'Prince Consort,' which was in such danger in the late storm in the Irish Channel, did not spring a leak as was supposed, but was nearly sunk by her own crew, who pumped the water *in* instead of pumping it *out*. The Emperor Napoleon has written a circular to all the sovereigns of Europe inviting them to a congress at Paris to settle the affairs of Europe. As he says in his speech in opening Parliament that the treaties of 1815 have ceased to exist, and he talks of sacrifices to be made for the public good, I suspect there will be great disinclination to respond to the summons which he has also sent in an offensive and dictatorial manner. Victor Emanuel telegraphed his acceptance at once, showing that he expects to gain by the new distribution of Europe. Probably England would be required to give up Gibraltar.

November 16*th*.—The King of Denmark is dead, and Prince Christian succeeds him.

November 24*th*.—We went to Blenheim, which well deserves to be called a palace. It has been fitted up almost entirely by the Duke and Duchess, and does great credit to their taste; in fact, it has all the magnificence of a palace and all the comforts of a small house. We dined in the saloon, a very handsome room, and after dinner the tapestry rooms were opened and we sat there, as they join the library,

where the ball was to take place. The ball-room is 180 feet long and very high. The pleasure grounds, which are very beautiful, slope down to the edge of the lake on one side, and on the opposite shore a hill, covered with wood, rises from the water. It must be a perfect Paradise in summer.

November 29th, Heron Court.—Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald arrived from Paris, where he says the refusal of our Government to attend the congress proposed by Napoleon, and especially the rude tone of Lord Russell's despatch, has created great irritation. The correspondence between the English and French Governments respecting the congress is published in to-day's papers. Lord Russell's despatch is published in the 'Gazette,' and I am not surprised that the French are angry, for not only is it very rude, but it was sent without the least delay, and published in the 'Times' before it was delivered to Drouyn de l'Huys!

December 5th.—I returned from Windsor. The Queen sent for me before dinner and spoke of the Danish question; though she is annoyed about it, she told me that it was not my fault, that I could not do otherwise than sign the treaty of 1852, which had been drawn up by Palmerston.

December 7th.—Sir Augustus Paget has written to say he cannot leave Copenhagen in the present state of affairs. Austria and Prussia threaten a Federal execution, and the King of Denmark has withdrawn the patent giving a joint Constitution to Holstein, which was the great cause of offence, as it incorporated Holstein with Denmark. Schleswig has offered 35,000 men to Denmark if the Federal troops cross the Eider and if they enter Schleswig.

December 8th.—Lord Henry Lennox and the Marchese Fortunato called, with the news that the Confederates had been totally routed by General Grant at Look-out Mountain, General Braggs having been defeated with the loss of sixty cannon.

December 31st.—The Federal troops have entered Holstein and been received with acclamation.

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January 9th.—The Princess of Wales has been safely confined—a prince. The event was not expected till March, and as it was intended to take place at Marlborough House, no preparations had been made at Frogmore. There was no nurse, no baby linen, and no doctor, except Mr. Brown, the Windsor physician, who attended her, and brought the child into the world, for which, it is said, he will be made a knight and receive 500*l.* Lady Macclesfield was fortunately in waiting, and as she has had a great many children, she was probably of use. Lord Granville was the only Minister in attendance, having come to dine with the Prince, and there was not time to summon the others, as the Princess was not ill more than three hours. She had been to see the skating, and did not return to Frogmore till four o'clock, soon after which she was taken ill.

I saw Disraeli, who called to-day, and wanted to talk to me upon political arrangements to be made, should our party come in. He quite scouted the idea of being Foreign Minister himself, as he has no intention of giving up the leadership of the House of Commons; he said it would be

quite impossible to do the work of both,[1] and that Lord Palmerston, when he was Foreign Secretary, hardly ever appeared in the House of Commons.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

Knowsley: January 10, 1864.

My dear Malmesbury,—I need not tell you how sincerely sorry I am to hear your report of yourself, and how anxiously I hope that Bence Jones may be able to set you right, even in a shorter time than you seem to anticipate. Private and public feelings are in this case in entire accordance; for I do not know what I should do in the House of Lords, and still less if there were to be a change of Government, if you were not in a condition to give me your assistance. We have too few good men capable of holding office, and especially connected with foreign affairs, to be able to spare one. Stanley has a contempt for the arts of diplomacy, and an intense dislike to be involved in any foreign affairs. . . . In short, if we are *doomed* to come in, I *must* have *you* again. So get well as fast as you can. Vitzthum has sent me, confidentially, his and Beust's correspondence with John Russell; the latter, as usual, effusive in tone, but, as I have not concealed from Vitzthum, having the best of the argument. I have given him my opinion very plainly, and expressed an anxious hope, in the interests of Germany, that war may yet be avoided. But I fear that with the Germans just now passion is too strong for reason; and Austria and Prussia are so mutually afraid of each other gaining the ascendency in that pestilent body, the Diet, that they will both be driven to be the slaves of the minor States. Austria, however, can hardly engage in a crusade for 'Nationalities,' nor Prussia for 'Constitutional Rights.' I quite agree with you that if we had taken a firm tone at once, there would have been no invasion of Schleswig; and everything else was capable of adjustment. Now, if there be such an invasion, war is declared, and we shall have placed Denmark in a very disadvantageous position, having abandoned Holstein at our suggestion.

. . . . . .

Ever yours sincerely, DERBY.

[1] This is quite true, and I found what Lord Palmerston told me was correct, namely, that the average work of the Foreign Office took him ten hours of the twenty-four.

P.S.—Do you know, or can you find out, whether the Emperor gave our Government any hint as to his intention to propose a Congress, before he made his public announcement? If he did not, it does not look like very cordial feelings, and, I must add, he laid himself open to the rebuff he met with. That, however, is no sufficient vindication of our *brusquerie*. D.

From Count Persigny to Lord M.

Paris: le 12 janvier 1864.

Mon cher Malmesbury,—La poste me renvoie aujourd'hui une lettre que je vous écrivis il y a deux mois. Un singulier accident paraît avoir causé cette mésaventure. Soit que l'encre fût mauvaise ou qu'un acide tombé sur l'enveloppe en ait altéré la qualité, il a été impossible de lire l'adresse: elle était presque complètement effacée.

Il n'y avait rien de bien important dans cette lettre. Je vous disais que j'avais soumis à l'Empereur la question archéologique que vous soumettez au sujet du tombeau de Richard Cœur-de-Lion et de son père, et du désir que vous exprimez. L'Empereur en principe était favorable à l'idée de donner ce monument à l'Angleterre; mais à cause des contretemps diplomatiques qui embrouillaient un peu nos relations, il désirait ajourner cette petite affaire. Je reste, quant à moi, chargé de votre commission, et dès que je verrai le moment favorable de renouveler la démarche, je le ferai avec le grand désir, et, du reste, la presque certitude de réussir.

Mille amitiés dévouées. PERSIGNY.

January 19th.—The Austrians and Prussians have decided upon entering Schleswig should the King of Denmark not revoke the Constitution of November 18. Their envoys presented a note to that effect on the 16th, and, on the refusal of the King, left Copenhagen on the 18th.

George B. Mathew,[1] *Esq., C.B., to Lord M.*

San José, Costa Rica: January 20, 1864.

Dear Lord Malmesbury,—I took the liberty of sending to your address one of the famed 'quezals,' whose plumage under the

[1] H.M. Chargé d'Affaires at Costa Rica, and a very able man.

Aztec Emperor was reserved for Imperial wear; but I have been so unlucky in my attempts to send any sort of parcel to England, that I delayed to write until I heard of their safe arrival there. Guatemala can boast of no other curiosities, and indeed of nothing else save cochineal; but I trust you will deem the birds deserving a place on your hall table, from their former fame.

My stay in these wretched Republics is drawing to a close, as our objects are, *tant bien que mal*, carried out, and though I have, inevitably, incurred animosities in some quarters, I venture to hope that I have done some good, and have further established, by an impartial course, and by a frank avowal of my opinions, the *prestige* that should attend an English Minister in these half-civilised countries. Lord Russell has been good enough to give me the C.B., and though some of my friends think I might have expected it on my return from Mexico, and the higher grade now, I feel that any mark of approval from a Minister who may not view with partiality my political opinions and antecedents is very acceptable and gratifying.

For the last two years Mexican affairs have had a leading influence in some of these Republics, and a dream of a French Protectorate, or, at least, of annexation to an Ultra-Catholic Empire in Mexico (nurtured by the unwise and indecent partizanship of the French Chargé d'Affaires), induced Guatemala and her paid ally, Nicaragua, to enter upon the late sanguinary war with Salvador and Honduras. The clerical party, who hold despotic sway in Guatemala, through the hands of a debauched Indian savage, have succeeded in overthrowing in the two neighbouring States administrations that had alarmed them by their union and constitutional tendencies, and had offended them by so-termed 'impious' acts of placing the clergy on a level with others before the ordinary tribunals. Some of the members have been murdered in cold blood, and others, including Barrios, the late President of Salvador, have saved their lives by escaping from the country. Assuredly, the rule of France or of any other Power would therefore be a blessing to humanity, and a great boon to civilisation and commerce; but M. de Cabarras, in following the precise footsteps of M. Dubois de Saligny, takes the least effectual and the least creditable way of popularising the idea. To describe the utmost excesses of arbitrary despotism, murder, plunder, and an utter absence of justice, as the rule of 'religion, law, and order,' and to accuse those who do not

concur in this conclusion of being imbued with revolutionary ideas, is *un peu fort*, and is not, I think, likely to achieve the object in view.

I am really glad to gather from the papers that the Emperor has found out at last the real value of M. Dubois' statements. They have cost France dear; but even now, if the laws of France as to religious as well as civil matters are declared in force, and if such men as Miramon, Marquez, and others, who, when *bought* by the clergy, were wholly without any party in the nation, and disgraced their cause by their atrocities, are sent for a time out of the country, an agreement with the National Party in Mexico would be facile. Indeed I feel sure, from my influence with the honest, kind-hearted, but obstinate and ill-informed Juarez, that on such terms I could ensure his submission, which, once declared, would be permanent. But I suffered so much from the rarefied atmosphere —being, indeed, threatened with an attack of the same nature as that which has just carried off one of my earliest and best friends, poor Elgin—that I should be very loth to return to Mexico save for a brief visit. All Europe may be interested in the occupation of Mexico by France, whether as an empire or as a protectorate, for it may serve better than Algiers as an outlet for hot blood; but if peace be long delayed we shall see the unscrupulous Government of Washington pouring into the North their disbanded and homeless soldiers.

The horizon seems as much clouded in Europe as on this side of the Atlantic. It struck me long ago that it would be wise to tempt the Duke of Augustenburg with Greece!

No man can read the horrors perpetrated in Poland without indignation. I know no kindlier man than the Emperor Alexander, with whom I was once on very friendly terms at Rome; but there is much irritable weakness in his character, and he needs the influence of good men to counteract the bad about him. The savage hatred felt towards all Poles by the older men in the Russian nobility is as unaccountable as it is deep. At all events, Russia can no longer quote treaties in Greece or in the East: 'Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?'

Very faithfully yours, GEORGE B. MATHEW.

January 24th.—I have been very ill for the last month, and living upon opiates. Lord Derby came to see me today, and gave me an outline of his intended speech at the

meeting of Parliament, which is, of course, an attack upon Lord Russell's foreign policy. He and Lady Derby are going to Osborne next Thursday. He is decidedly Danish.

January 25th.—Mr. Bentinck called to tell me that the Austrians and Prussians have refused the request of the Danish Government for delay to enable their Parliament to meet and deliberate upon the withdrawal of the Constitution for Schleswig, and intend to invade the province directly.

January 27th.—The 'Standard' of this morning contains an article, which was sent by Brunnow, saying that at the Cabinet held last Monday Ministers arrived at a very grave decision respecting the Dano-German conflict—that that decision had been submitted by Lord Russell to Her Majesty, and that despatches had been sent off to the Ambassadors at the Courts of Prussia and Austria, notifying the hostile attitude that the Government of Great Britain would be compelled to assume in the event of the Prussian and Austrian troops invading Schleswig. The French Government is, it is said, upon this point at union with the British, and it is hoped that with the prospect of this opposition the great German Powers will not persist in provoking a war.

January 29th.—The 'Standard' has an article this morning announcing Lord Russell's resignation on account of his disagreement with his colleagues, as he takes the German side. This is not true. The Prussians and Austrians are advancing towards the Eider with the intention of entering Schleswig; the Danes are preparing to resist, but can have little chance unless England or France come to their assistance, which the latter, it is said, is ready to do, but the

Queen will not hear of going to war with Germany. No doubt this country would like to fight for the Danes, and, from what is said, I infer that the Government is inclined to support them also, but finds great difficulties in the opposition of the Queen.[1]

January 31*st.*—A dreadful catastrophe occurred at Santiago on December 8, at a religious ceremony at the Jesuits' Church. A transparency on the altar caught fire, and the flames were communicated so rapidly to the muslin and gauze dressing that was hung all over the church that very few made their escape. The men, who were in a separate part of the church, divided by a grating, got away, but 2,000 women, comprising the greatest part of the ladies of Santiago, most of them young girls with their mothers, were burnt to death. The lamps were filled with paraffin oil, which fell upon the poor women in streams of liquid fire, and the work of destruction was so rapid that but a quarter of an hour elapsed from the beginning to the end. The bigotry of the people in Santiago can hardly be believed if we did not know as a fact that there is a public post-office for the Virgin, who corresponds personally with her votaries.

February 2*nd.*—The Prussians have entered Schleswig. The Danes withdrew. Count de Flahault has been made Chancellor of the Legion of Honour—a great place, which gives him a large salary and a fine house in Paris.

February 6*th.*—News from Rendsburg says that in the

[1] It is perhaps well that we did not enter into this contest, as our army was not armed at that time, like the Prussians, with the breechloader, and we should probably have suffered in consequence the same disaster as the Austrians did two years later.

attack upon Jagel on the 3rd, the Austrians, who were repulsed, lost 600 men and many officers, since which there has been more fighting, and the Danes were defeated, although the Austrians lost seventeen officers and 500 men. The Prussian Press now declares that Schleswig-Holstein is irreparably separated from Denmark, and that war puts an end to treaties.

February 9th.—Severe fighting at Flensburg. Barricades were erected in the street, and the Austrians lost 1,100 men. Most of the Danish troops have escaped to Alsen Island, but, the channel being only 1,000 yards broad, they will not be secure from the cannon. News from Vienna of yesterday says that a Council of Ministers was held, under the presidency of the Emperor, on the 7th, at which highly important resolutions were passed, the purport of which was that the London treaty of 1852 can no longer be considered by Austria as a basis of negotiation. I made a speech yesterday in the House of Lords, explaining the share I took in that treaty; and Lord Russell, though he confessed, in reply to my questions, that the Government had received no guarantee that Austria and Prussia would evacuate Schleswig when the King of Denmark had fulfilled his engagements, yet said they were bound by that treaty to respect the integrity of the Danish monarchy. Lord Palmerston made the same declaration in the House of Commons. If it is true that Austria has committed such a breach of faith, I hope she will lose Venetia.

February 11th.—The Duke of Augustenburg is proclaimed everywhere in Holstein and Schleswig in the presence of the Austrians and Prussians, who make no objection, thereby

making it very evident that they do not intend restoring the Duchies to Denmark.

February 13*th.*—The Austrians are said to show symptoms of backing out of the war, probably frightened for Venetia, as the Italians are evidently preparing themselves.

February 16*th.*—The Danes are in the island of Alsen and at Düppel, a fortified place in the mainland. General Meza's retreat has saved the Danish army, for it was too weak to hold the Dannewerke, and would have been cut off had he delayed.

February 21*st.*—I hear that Lord Russell has sent for M. Bille,[1] the Danish Minister, and told him his Government must not depend upon any material support from England, as we would not go to war for Denmark. M. Bille asked if an invasion of Jutland would make us alter our minds, and Lord Russell replied that, even if the Germans went to Copenhagen, it would make no difference. The Prussians occupied Jutland for two days, but have retired in consequence of orders from Berlin.

February 23*rd.*—The Prussians made an attack on the village of Düppel yesterday, but were repulsed, leaving many dead and wounded on the field. The Danes lost 200 men; the battle lasted four hours.

February 24*th.*—The Government had a majority of 25 last night on Mr. Fitzgerald's motion for copies of the correspondence between the Government and Messrs. Laird relating to the steam-ram. House divided: 178 to 153.

[1] Danish Minister in London.

On a motion for the Schleswig-Holstein papers they had a still larger majority. Lord Palmerston was ill in bed with cold and gout, but was sent for, his colleagues being much alarmed, and came tottering in after the division had taken place. Austria and Prussia have accepted our proposal for a conference to be held in London, but the war is to go on just the same.

March 1st.—I dined at Marlborough House. The Princess of Wales told me that her father and mother's health had suffered much from the constant anxiety they had gone through.

March 6th.—I passed the morning writing copies of my letters to the Prince of Schleswig, the latter having begun a correspondence on the subject of Schleswig-Holstein by asking me to retract a statement I had made in the House of Lords, which I refused to do.

March 9th.—Lord Derby called, and seems *préoccupé*. I believe he is much puzzled what to do on the Danish question. All his party are for the Danes, and he also sympathises with them; but the Court is against them. As Lord Bath was there and is very German, of course Lord Derby did not feel himself on safe ground.

Everybody is talking of Count Bernstorff's having refused to drink the King of Denmark's health at the banquet at Buckingham Palace yesterday, after the christening of the young prince, the child of the Prince and Princess of Wales. He, however, denies the whole thing, and gave an official denial to Lord Russell.

From the Comtesse de Flahault (on the death of the Duc de Morny).

Paris: March 11, 1864.

Alas! dear Lord Malmesbury, all was over at eight o'clock yesterday morning, and I have only to thank you for your kind sympathy, which we feel deeply. We are overwhelmed with grief at this most unlooked-for misfortune, but M. de Flahault has gone through these trying scenes with courage and composure, and will, I hope, now be able to take some rest. It has been a comfort having Emily with us, and Shelburne arrived last night. You, who know Auguste well, will understand how well he merited all our love, and what a loss he is to his family. In Paris the consternation is general, and there is every demonstration of its being felt as a public calamity. The Emperor is deeply affected, and on the evening of his death was for two hours at his bedside, where we were assembled.

Adieu, dear Lord Malmesbury, again . . . Believe me truly yours, M. M. DE FLAHAULT, K.N.

I ought not to omit that the Empress was there also, and very kind.

March 12th.—I was introduced to the new French Ambassador, the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne. He is very pompous, and much out of humour with this country, declaring that England is more bound than any other to support the Danes, because the treaty of 1852 was signed in London. The sympathies of our party are entirely with the Danes, and the Emperor Napoleon would be ready to declare war against the Germans if we would join him; but, in my opinion, neither his army nor ours would have been equal to such a policy, for neither of us have the needle-gun, with which the Prussians are armed.

March 18th.—Sir Henry Stracey moved a vote of censure on Mr. Stansfeld, for allowing himself to be the medium of communication between Mazzini and his friends. The subject was mooted ten days ago, and Mr. Stansfeld's

explanation was unsatisfactory, as he confined himself to praising Mazzini, and evaded answering the question whether the name of Fiori or Flower was an *alias* of Mazzini's or not. The subject being resumed to-day, he at last confessed very reluctantly that he had allowed Mazzini to have his letters addressed to his (Mr. Stansfeld's) house, under that name. A division took place, and Sir Henry Stracey's motion was only negatived by ten: 171 to 161. The Government defended him vigorously, and the utmost efforts were made to get a good majority. Considering that Mazzini's policy was perfectly well known to be founded on assassination, and that they must have known it, they can hardly have been proud of this victory. Lord Palmerston, however, seems not to think so, as, when Mr. Stansfeld offered to resign his place under Government, he refused, and said he would take the responsibility upon himself.[1]

April 12th.—Garibaldi has arrived in London, and went to Stafford House. His reception was enthusiastic.

April 13th.—We dined at Stafford House to meet Garibaldi. The party consisted of the Palmerstons, Russells, Gladstones, Argylls, Shaftesburys, Dufferins, &c., and other Whigs, the Derbys and ourselves being the only Conservatives; so I greatly fear we have made a mistake, and that our party will be disgusted at our going. Lady Shaftesbury told me after dinner, in a *méchante* manner, that we had fallen into a trap, to which I answered that I was very much obliged to those who laid it, as I should be very sorry not to have seen Garibaldi. The Dowager Duchess of Sutherland walked off with him to her boudoir, where he smoked. This

[1] On any question concerning Italy or an Italian Lord Palmerston had no scruples.

created great astonishment and amusement, as this boudoir, which is fitted up most magnificently with hangings of velvet and everything that is most costly, has been considered such a sacred spot that few favoured mortals have ever been admitted into its precincts; and to allow anyone to smoke in it is most astonishing to all who know the Duchess.

The Government were defeated last night, on the motion of Lord Robert Cecil,[1] on the reports of the inspectors of schools, by 101 to 93.

April 15th.—Our party are furious with us and Lord Derby for dining with the Sutherlands last Wednesday, and Lord Bath has written to Lord Colville to resign his office of Whip, and says he will not spend a farthing upon elections. Lord Derby has written him a very temperate letter.

April 18th.—I dined with the Clanricardes to meet Garibaldi, and smoked a cigar with him after dinner. He spoke very sensibly, and, far from seeming proud of the fuss that was made with him, he said he feared it might become ridiculous. Sir Robert Peel, talking of Rome, said that he did not think it possible to get rid of the Papacy; that Garibaldi might drive the Pope out of Rome, but another would be elected as long as the Roman Catholic religion existed. Garibaldi replied, 'Vous l'avez bien fait, cependant.' Again, some one said that the career of the present Emperor Napoleon was a more successful one than that of the first. Garibaldi answered, '*Il faut attendre la fin.*'

Düppel has fallen, and the Danes have lost many officers and men.

April 20th.—Garibaldi leaves England on Friday. Lord

[1] Now Marquis of Salisbury, 1884.

Clarendon, who has just returned from Paris, has informed the Government that the Emperor has made *that* the condition of his joining with us in the conference; and certainly there must be some intrigue, as Mr. Ferguson, the surgeon, writes a letter to the Duke of Sutherland—which is published—saying it would be dangerous for Garibaldi's health if he exposed himself to the fatigue of an expedition to Manchester, &c. On the other hand, Dr. Basile, Garibaldi's own doctor, says he is perfectly well and able to undergo all the fatigue of a journey to the manufacturing towns. The publication of this letter in contradiction to Mr. Ferguson's must have been done with Garibaldi's consent; it shows he is angry, and does not leave England willingly.

April 22*nd.*—Garibaldi goes to-day to Cliefden, where he remains with the Dowager-Duchess of Sutherland until the 25th, when he leaves for Plymouth.

The Duchess of Cambridge and Princess Mary attacked me for going to Stafford House to meet him, saying that they admired my devotion to Lord Derby, which induced me to accept the invitation.

April 28*th.*—We had a dinner for the Duke of Cambridge, the Princess Edward, the Tankervilles, Lady Ely, Sir A. and Lady Paget, Colonel and Mrs. Macdonald, the Cadores, Lord Clanwilliam, Lord E. St. Maur, and Count Apponyi. Lord Bath complained of Sir Augustus Clifford's having turned on the gas in the House of Lords when Garibaldi entered; and said he had told Sir Augustus that he meant to bring his conduct before the House, but that Sir Augustus expressed his regret and begged to be let off

on account of his old friendship with Lord Bath's father. So Lord Bath forgave him. This story was received with a good deal of laughter, which Lord Bath took very well.

On May 6 I crossed to Paris, and, after two or three days, taking the road to Lyons, went down the Rhône to Arles, a very interesting old town, evidently peopled in former times by a colony from Central Italy, so very remarkable is the physique of the inhabitants. The women are proverbially handsome, but entirely of the Etruscan type, with magnificent dark hair and eyes, good teeth, and fair complexions. They have beautiful round throats set on fine shoulders and busts, but their legs are much too short for their general build. I had a good opportunity of seeing the population as it was a *jour de fête*, and there were games in the square, such as climbing a greased pole for a leg of mutton placed at the top, which no one succeeded in winning. The women were all in costume, with black veils worn like the mantilla. I noticed that the men were remarkably plain, sallow, undersized, and narrow-chested—in every way a striking contrast to the women.

The old Roman Amphitheatre here is very perfect, with towers added in the Middle Ages. Having heard of an old feudal castle called Les Baux, some twelve or fourteen miles from Arles, I took a carriage to visit it. We passed through an arid country till we reached a village with an ancient tower and other buildings, at the foot of which was a hermit's cell very curiously contrived in the rock, where there was a secret way of escaping and hiding in the deeper recesses in case of danger. Here was the hermit's bed of stone; he is supposed to have been the first to introduce

Christianity in that country. His name, which I forget, is held in high reverence, and a church there is dedicated to his memory.

Proceeding on my road, the mountains loom in the distance with the colour of yellow sandstone, and, on their summit, the castle and town of Les Baux. They appear perfectly bare and scorched by the burning sun of Provence. At the foot of the mountain there were some beautiful pomegranates and fine cypresses, but no other vegetation. The ascent to the town is winding and very steep. At the top there are the remains of a street of what must have been formerly very handsome houses, the ruins of which show the remains of the Renaissance carvings on the door-posts. A solitary priest came out of a small church, kept in tolerable order, and lamented the fate that forced him to live in so desolate a region. Higher up you reach a plateau with the castle and an enormous *pigeonnier*—sign of feudal privilege.

From quite a short distance the whole town is invisible, as it is not built of stone, but hewn out of the solid rock. It is altogether the most curious place I ever visited, and hardly ever seen by English travellers, although it is worth any trouble. From the summit the view is splendid, with a mirage which makes the plain below look like the sea. It was on these plains that Charles Martel gained a final victory over the Saracens.

After this I retraced my steps to Grenoble, close to which Casimir Périer has a very fine château; and, after seeing the Great St. Bernard, I proceeded through Geneva to Berne to pay a visit to my brother, who is minister there. I returned to Paris by the Basle Railway.

On passing through Paris I had a satisfactory conversa-

tion with Drouyn de l'Huys, and there I also heard of the death of the Duc de Malakoff, partly caused by his annoyance at the insurrection which has broken out in Algeria.

June 1*st*.—I returned from Paris, and we dined with the Derbys. Fred Stanley was married yesterday to Lady Constance Villiers.

June 8*th*.—Left London for Heron Court to see the famous rhododendrons, which are all in flower.

June 11*th*.—Returned to London.

June 16*th*.—Went to a party at the Duchess of Buccleuch's, where Count Sabouroff told me that, at the last meeting of the Conference, the Germans proposed to submit the disputed territory in Schleswig to arbitration, that this was supported by the neutral Powers, and the Danish plenipotentiaries had asked for delay to refer to their Court. He could, or would, not tell me who is to be arbitrator, but everybody supposes it will be the French Emperor.

June 17*th*.—There was a debate in the House of Commons on the Ashanti question. Lord Palmerston made an angry speech, accusing and misrepresenting Lord Derby's Government for having established a protectorate of the Fanti tribes, which has got us into the present difficulty. This was denied by Disraeli, who asserted that it began in 1826, and Lord Palmerston had not a word to say in reply. The House divided, and Government had a majority of seven.

Both sides cheered when the numbers were read, ours being pleased at the smallness of the majority and glad not to turn out the Government on a comparatively unimportant question.

June 20th.—The papers to-day give an account of a naval engagement off Cherbourg between the celebrated blockade-runner the 'Alabama' and the American ship 'Kearsage.' After about an hour's fighting, a shot struck the 'Alabama' just above the water line, and she sank. The crew jumped overboard, and a great many were saved by an English steam-yacht, the 'Deerhound,' which picked up Captain Semmes, thirteen officers, many men, and immediately steamed off with them to Southampton, the Americans saving a good many more.

June 27th.—The armistice having expired between the Germans and Danes, hostilities have recommenced by the Prussian batteries opening fire upon Alsen.

I went to the House of Lords, which was immensely full, the anxiety being very great to hear the explanation of the Government with respect to the war. Lord Russell got up and spoke for nearly two hours; for the first half-hour he was almost inaudible, but after that I heard enough to know that the Government were for peace at any price, and meant to desert the Danes. Lord Derby, who was in his place, though suffering from gout, answered him, and after deprecating any discussion, begged his party to say nothing that evening.

June 29th.—I went to the ball at Buckingham Palace. There was a great crowd and some ridiculous-looking women in high dresses. The royal party came in by a door close to the dais, so they did not pass up the room, and sat down without taking notice of anybody.

Everybody is talking of the absurd ending of Lord Palmerston's speech last Monday, in which he said that 'if the

Government had reason to expect to see at Copenhagen the horrors of a town taken by assault, the destruction of property, the sacrifice of the lives, not only of its defenders, but of its peaceful inhabitants, the confiscations which would ensue, and the capture of the sovereign as a prisoner of war,' he (Lord Palmerston) 'did not mean to say that if any of those events were likely to happen, the position of this country might not be subject to reconsideration.'

July 3rd.—Lord Derby is so ill with the gout that he cannot bring on the question of the correspondence between Denmark and Germany next Friday, and he has deputed me to do it in his place, and Lords Salisbury,[1] Donoughmore, Colville, Hardwicke,[2] Carnarvon, and Chelmsford came this afternoon at one o'clock to consult with me respecting the motion to be made in the House of Lords.

Lord Derby is nervous in consequence of some objections made by the Duke of Buccleuch[3] and Lord Stanhope, who talk of a collision between the two Houses, and he fears the party will not be unanimous. I am, however, for going on with it, and so were the rest. We adjourned at two o'clock to Lord Salisbury's, where a large meeting took place, I being in the chair. The two above-named peers, with Lords Winchester and Bath, made some difficulties, but ended by giving way, and it was settled unanimously that the same resolution which Disraeli makes to-day in the Commons is to be moved on Friday in the Lords. I went yesterday to Disraeli to settle about this, he merely pointing to a chair. I did not sit down, but gave him the message Lord Derby had sent, and went away. After the meeting at Lord Salisbury's I went to Lord Derby's to report what had occurred.

[1] The late Lord Salisbury. [2] The late Lord Hardwicke.
[3] The Duke of Buccleuch died 1884.

He was pleased to hear that the motion was not given up, but he was in such dreadful pain that I did not stay.

July 8th.—I went to the House of Lords to bring forward my resolution against the foreign policy of the Government. The Duke of Argyll replied, and then Lord Brougham got up, being followed by Lords Chelmsford and Carnarvon. The division took place at half-past two A.M., and we had a majority of nine—177 to 168. In the House of Commons the Government had a majority of eighteen—313 to 295.

July 11th.—A horrible murder was committed last Saturday evening in a first-class carriage on the North London Railway. The victim was Mr. Briggs, a clerk in Robarts's bank, who was attacked, robbed, and thrown from the carriage.

After giving a dinner for the Duchess of Cambridge and Princess Mary, we went to Lady Rokeby's, who had tableaux, which were beautifully got up, and would have been better still if the singing behind the scenes had been in tune.

July 13th.—Mr. Briggs's chain has been identified. It was pawned by a man who had the appearance of a foreigner.

July 24th.—The murderer of Mr. Briggs is suspected to be a German tailor, called Franz Müller. Müller had bought a hat of a certain Matthews, who identified it as being the one found in the railway carriage after the murder.

August 2nd.—I went to Lowther Castle and Lady Malmesbury to Chillingham.

August 17*th*, *Heron Court*.—This place is completely burnt up; the lawn is like a stubble-field, there are no vegetables in the kitchen garden, the farmers are obliged to feed their cattle on hay, and all the small birds are starving as if in a hard frost.

August 21*st*.—Rain has come at last and penetrated about an inch into the ground, so it will do some good.

September 7*th*.—News has arrived of the capture of Müller at New York with Mr. Briggs's hat and chain upon him, and it is thought that he will arrive in England about the 15th.

I leave London for Paris on the 27th.

October 2*nd*, *Aix-les-Bains*.—I went down to Lyons and Avignon, where I found the cold so intense that I proceeded to Aix-les-Bains, but without any improvement. The weather here is bitter, and I am writing, shivering close to a blazing fire. I shall go back to Paris.

October 18*th*.—Reached Paris, which is much warmer than the South of France.

October 19*th*.—Returned to London.

October 30*th*.—The murderer Müller has been convicted and sentenced to death.

November 3*rd*.—We left London by the Paddington Railway and reached Hughenden by three o'clock. Mrs. Disraeli was at home, and after luncheon we took a walk

in the woods. She says she has laid them out herself, and certainly she deserves great credit, as I never saw any prettier. They are very extensive, on two sides of a narrow valley, with walks in all directions. We returned about four, just as the rest of the party came back from Cliefden. It was composed of the Duke and Duchess of Wellington, Lord and Lady Raglan, Lord Orford, and Mr. Courtenay. The dinner was very gay; Disraeli exerted himself to the utmost to be agreeable. The evening was very short, Mrs. Disraeli sending us all to bed at half-past ten.

November 4th.—Beautiful day. We all went out driving through Hampden Park, where there are some fine beeches and a long grass drive, down which Hampden rode at the head of his men (not soldiers) to present the Bill of Rights to Charles I. We then crossed the Chiltern Hills, and on reaching a plateau, from whence there is a beautiful view, we got out of the carriage and walked down the hill to a lovely spot at Chequers Court, called Velvet Lawn, where we had luncheon, after which we returned to the carriage and drove through Lady Frankland Russell's park home.

November 7th.—Left London for Broke Hall, in Norfolk, which is hired by the Charteris' for the shooting. The owner is the grandson of the celebrated Sir Philip Broke, who captured the American frigate 'Chesapeake' by boarding her. The figure-head of the 'Shannon,' which he commanded, stands at the entrance to the house.

November 14th, London.—Müller was hanged this morning. He refused to confess until the last moment, till the rope was round his neck, when he said to the clergyman: 'Ich hab' es gethan!'

November 15*th.*—We heard of the death of my cousin, Lord Manners.

November 16*th.*—We went to Leiston Old Abbey, Mr. William Rose's place in Suffolk, where we met the Carletons[1] and Colonel Tower, and had very good partridge-shooting.

November 17*th.*—We left London for Longleat. Nobody there but Lady Louisa Fielding and Lord Canterbury.

November 18*th.*—A fall of snow in the night and hard frost. Had service in the chapel belonging to the house.

November 19*th.*—Left Longleat for Heron Court. Whilst in Salisbury, on my way home, went to see my old family house in the Close, a most curious and gloomy abode. There are fifty-one rooms in it and a great many passages and staircases—altogether a most ghostly place. The snow was so deep that we were obliged to put four horses to the fly from Fording Bridge to Ringwood, whence it took us an hour and a half to get to Heron Court, only seven miles.

November 23*rd.*—Was shot badly in the face, and was laid up for four days.

November 30*th.*—Accounts from America all tend against the Confederates.

Mr. Bidwell, of the Foreign Office, told me that the Emperor of the French had offered us a defensive alliance in case we engaged in war against Germany, meaning, I suppose, in case of England being invaded.

[1] Now Lord and Lady Dorchester.

Lord Derby to Lord Malmesbury.

Knowsley: December 9, 1864.

My dear Malmesbury,—I am glad you are pleased with the Homer. I never was more astonished in my life than on reading the puff of it in the 'Times'!—by whom written I have not the least idea, and Murray professes himself as much at a loss as I am. However it may be, it threw out a bait to the ingenuous British public, the result of which has been that the first edition of 1,000 copies has been disposed of in a week, and that a second, of double that number, is in the press, and will be out in a fortnight. I was sorry you could not come to us this week; but, as it happens, I should not have seen much of you if you had, for I have again been confined to my bed with a renewed attack, and have not yet left my room, though I hope I am on the way to recovery.

The Baillie-Cochranes came here on Saturday and stayed till Wednesday, but I was not able to see them. I have not, however, given up the hope of seeing you yet—if not this year, at least this season, for I am going to write to Dizzy and some of our political friends, to ask them if they can come here for a few days on the 9th of next month, and I shall still have a good beat or two untouched, so as to mix a little shooting with our politics. If we should make up such a party, could you join it? You would find companions, whether you shot or not; but I hope you will find yourself equal to it at Wimpole, if not to one of Bath's tremendous days. Ever yours sincerely, DERBY.

The Earl of Malmesbury, G.C.B.

1865

January 3rd.—Lord and Lady Bath, Mr. Fane, and Col. and Lady Margaret Charteris arrived at Heron Court. A very agreeable party.

January 12th.—Sir A. Paget, Lochiel, Mrs. Brett, Sir

William Jolliffe and his two daughters came. We shot the park, and the Miss Jolliffes accompanied us. In the evening we all went to the ball at Christchurch.

We left the ball with Mr. and Mrs. Brett, and found a storm raging outside the ball-room—rain coming down in torrents, and the wind so high that the horses could hardly get on. I thought several times that the omnibus would have been blown over. We were obliged to go a roundabout way, as some cottages were on fire in the street, the flames preventing any passage, and adding to the horrors of the hurricane.

January 14th.—We left Heron Court suddenly with our guests, Lady Malmesbury having heard that her mother, Lady Tankerville, has had a stroke of paralysis.

January 18th, London.—Lady Tankerville lingered three days, when the Abbé Tourzel thought her so ill that he would not put off any longer administering extreme unction. She bore the ceremony very well, and was quite aware of all that was going on, every time he made the sign of the cross.

She was a remarkable woman, and we all very much lament her. Ossulston passes the whole day with my wife, which is a great comfort to me, as he is always so kind and sympathetic.

January 26th.—Lady Willoughby d'Eresby died to-day. She was one of Lady Tankerville's most intimate friends, and, as they entered the world together, they left it together within a few days. She was one of the four or five ladies who, for forty years, had been 'the glass of fashion.'

Lady Palmerston to Lord M. on the death of Lady Tankerville.[1]

Brocket: January 29, 1864.

My dear Lord Malmesbury,—I cannot say how thankful I felt for your very kind letter, and for the considerate feeling that induced you to write to me at a moment when I was so deeply afflicted, and when your assurance gave me a double satisfaction, as it strongly verified the hope that I had already felt as a consolation, that her end was a most happy one, and that she suffered no pain or anxiety. She is a great loss to me, after an intimacy of so many years; but I do feel it a great comfort that she had such a blessed death and expired in the arms of her children, to whom she was so devotedly attached. I hope dear Emma has not suffered in her health from the sad scene she had to go through for so many days, and believe me, dear Lord Malmesbury, yours ever very sincerely, E. PALMERSTON.

Palmerston was, like me, very thankful for your letter, and he regrets almost as much as I do the loss of such an attached and excellent friend—so attractive and so good.

February 1st.—Another blow has fallen upon my family. The wife of my younger brother, Charles, has died of scarlet fever. I got a letter from him a few days ago, condoling with me upon my mother-in-law's death.

February 7th.—Parliament meets to-day, but is not opened by the Queen.

February 9th.—Lord Derby spoke very well at the opening, and with great fluency, but he looks very ill. His last attack of gout was very serious, and for some hours he was in great danger.

February 15th.—Ossulston and I had great sport at the wild-fowl on the Moors River. He had a good story about

[1] Lady Palmerston and Lady Tankerville had been intimate friends for more than fifty years.

the examination at a boys' school. The master asked why Moses left Egypt. The boy answered: 'You know, sir; that little affair with Potiphar's wife.'

March 1st.—I hear that Lord Willoughby, when dying, would not see his daughter at the last. She passed the whole day in the house, hoping to see him, but he never sent for her. I know this was not from want of affection, as he was extremely fond of her; but both he and Lady Willoughby have all their lives had a horror of anything painful, and have carefully shunned anything that could agitate them, so I have no doubt that he dreaded her emotion, for he was in perfect possession of his faculties. I believe it was the same with Lady Willoughby, who was very religious. I suppose they wished to avoid taking leave of those they loved, and to pass their last hours undisturbed by any distressing scenes.

March 4th.—News from America says that Charleston was evacuated by the Confederates on February 17, and 200 pieces of cannon taken. It is said that the French have been defeated in Mexico by Juarez. The Duc de Gramont called.

All London is talking of the way in which the Corps Diplomatique has been invited to the Queen's reception. It was, as far as I could understand, in these terms: 'That the Queen would graciously receive them, *male and female*, at a Court, to be held at Buckingham Palace.'

All those concerned are trying to shift the responsibility upon one another. The diplomatists have sent their cards of invitation to their respective Courts; and therefore it has produced a great sensation all over the world, as the term *mâle et femelle* is never used in French, except in speaking of animals.

March 13th.—I attended the Queen's reception at Buckingham Palace. Her Majesty inquired very kindly after Lady Malmesbury, who has been very ill.

March 22nd.—The Government were beaten last night on the Fire Insurance Duty by a majority of 72, the resolution for a reduction of the duty being carried in spite of Gladstone's opposition.

March 27th.—The Duchess of Marlborough called with her daughter, Lady Cornelia.[1] Such a pretty, graceful girl; very distinguished in her appearance, amiable and intelligent, and with a beautiful complexion.

March 29th.—I dined at Marlborough House; very pleasant evening. Parry sang some amusing comic songs, and the party did not break up till half-past twelve.

April 1st.—Lord Desart died this morning. He had been ill some years with a creeping palsy.

A dissolution is expected on July 15, and Colonel Taylor, our Whip, says we shall gain twenty-five seats.

April 5th.—It is said that the Russian plague is approaching England, but Brunnow told me that there is always a fever at Petersburg at this time of year, as the lower classes feed chiefly on frozen fish.

April 15th.—News from America of April 4 would appear to show that it is all over with the Confederates. After three days' severe fighting, Grant and Sheridan succeeded in turning Lee's right wing, and driving him into

[1] Lady Cornelia Churchill afterwards married Lord Wimborne.

Pittsburg. Lee has been defeated again since that, with great loss of prisoners and guns.

April 25th.—The Czarewitch died yesterday. The Princess Dagmar, whom he had expressed a wish to see, and who was betrothed to him, arrived with her mother a day before his death.[1]

April 26th.—Miss Constance Kent has confessed to having murdered her half-brother on June 29, 1860, and came to London yesterday to surrender herself. She was accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Wagner,[2] of St. Paul's, Brighton, to whom she had revealed her guilt. She behaved with great composure, and I hope it will be proved she was mad, as her mother and grandmother were so.

The report of President Lincoln's assassination is true. He was shot through the head at Ford's Theatre, at Washington. The assassin procured admission to his private box on pretence of bearing despatches from General Grant, and shot him with a double-barrelled pistol. He then jumped upon the stage, flourishing a dagger, and exclaimed, 'Sic semper tyrannis!' and made his escape through the back entrance to the theatre. He is an actor of the name of Wilkes Booth, and has been arrested. About the same time an attempt was made to assassinate Mr. Seward.

April 30th.—Dr. Pusey has sent a letter to the 'Churchman,' praising Gladstone and urging the High Church party to support Lord Palmerston, also giving his opinion that universal suffrage would strengthen the Church.

[1] She afterwards married his brother.

[2] He had been private tutor to the Duke of Wellington's sons at Eton.

May 1st.—The Emperor of the French left Paris on the 29th for Algiers, against the reclamations of all his Ministers. He is in bad health, and goes to drink some waters celebrated for renovating the constitution. It is said that Lincoln's assassination has produced a very painful impression on him, as he had hitherto disbelieved in the pistol for the purpose, and only feared the dagger.

The Government was beaten in the Lords on the Oaths Bill.

May 5th.—Miss Constance Kent was examined by the magistrates at Trowbridge, and committed for the murder of her brother. She is sent to Salisbury gaol. Mr. Wagner refused to answer any questions that touched upon her confession, and was hissed by the audience.

May 10th.—Wilkes Booth has been shot by a sergeant, and his companion taken.

May 12th.—Started for Paris to see the Great Exhibition. Paris is now at the apogee of its magnificence, and is the wonder of the world.

News from Mexico is very alarming for the French, and produces great consternation in Paris, where the Emperor's return from Algiers is anxiously looked for. The rebels under Juarez have gained some advantage over the French, and now that the war in America is over, a great number of adventurers, who form the principal part of the Federal army, are disbanded, and are going to join Juarez, who will thus be more than a match for Maximilian with his French and Belgian allies.[1]

[1] The brave and amiable Archduke Maximilian had been induced to accept the crown of Mexico, under French protection.

May 29*th.*—The Confederate party in America has been completely overcome in spite of an heroic resistance. It is expected that Jeff Davis will be executed by the Federal Government or lynched by the mob

June 10*th.*—The general impression is that Lord Palmerston is in a very bad state of health, and will not meet the new Parliament as Minister. He now seldom attends the House of Commons, and, when he does, only comes for a short time and says a few words, evidently that his name may appear in the newspapers.

June 20*th.*—Lord Palmerston's illness has been very severe. His colleagues are therefore anxious to get the elections over as soon as possible.

June 22*nd.*—A telegram arrived to-day in London, announcing the death of Mrs. Arbuthnot, who was killed by lightning in Switzerland. She was a daughter of Lord Rivers; was married two months ago, and they were on their wedding tour. She had remained sitting on a rock, being tired, whilst her husband and the guide had gone on; a sudden storm came on, and she was struck by a flash of lightning, which left a black mark all across her body. Decomposition set in instantly where the electric fluid had passed.

July 8*th.*—Dined with Lord Redesdale at the annual dinner which he gives to the Peers at Greenwich.

July 11*th.*—We dined with the Duke and Duchess of Wellington to meet the Queen of the Netherlands, who

talked a great deal to me about politics, as she does to everybody. Parry sang some of his comic songs.

The elections are going badly for us. Sir A. Malet came up to me after dinner, and said how much he rejoiced at the turn they were taking, although he supposed it was not a matter of rejoicing to me. I replied that of course he (Sir Alexander) ought to be glad, as otherwise he would not occupy his present post. We have already lost six seats and shall lose at least as many more, instead of gaining from fifteen to thirty, as we expected. Our agents must be very stupid to have miscalculated to such an extent, and the party are much disheartened. We have lost some of our best men: Seymour Fitzgerald, Sir John Elphinstone, and Sir John Hay. We have, however, got a Tory into Tiverton, as a colleague for Lord Palmerston. The election returns show we have lost fifteen seats, so there is no chance of our party coming into office; but the Whigs have not gained. The increase is in the Radicals.

July 28th.—The trial of Constance Kent is over, but the Queen has commuted the sentence of death to penal servitude.

August 20th.—The 'Great Eastern,' about which there has been much anxiety, in consequence of making no signals for a fortnight, has returned to Valentia, the cable having broken in the middle of the Atlantic, where the sea is two miles deep. They let down a grapnel, and fancied they hooked it; but the rope broke, and they have returned to get more.

October 1st.—Left Heron Court for London on my way

to Paris, and made a tour of three weeks in Brittany over the same ground I have before described.

October 12*th.*—I arrived at Brest. Went yesterday to Plougastel, but the abbey described in books is a fiction of romance. There is only an old church. The inns at Brest are abominable.

I hear the cholera has broken out in many parts of England. In a house at Epping everybody died, the master having it twice.

October 18*th.*—I hear from England that Lord Palmerston is very ill at Brocket, and a bulletin was issued, very unfavourable. I fear there is little chance of his recovery.

October 19*th, Nantes.*—A telegram announcing the death of Lord Palmerston, which took place yesterday at eleven. He sank gradually, and died without pain. Lady Shaftesbury, Lady Jocelyn, and William Cowper [1] were at Brocket. I shall always recollect him as one of the kindest men to me in private life, which I attribute mainly to his affection for my grandfather, the first Lord Malmesbury, who was his guardian. As a Minister, although I often differed from him, I looked upon him as one of our greatest, especially in his knowledge of foreigners and their character. He was clear-headed, always knew what he wanted, and was determined to carry it out, with great moral and physical courage. We shall be long ere we see his like again. He was *English* to the backbone.

October 23*rd.*—Arrived in London. Found Lord Russell

[1] The Hon. William Cowper was afterwards made Lord Mount Temple, and Lord Palmerston made him his heir.

Prime Minister. Lord Palmerston is to be buried in Westminster Abbey, and, by the wish of the Queen, to have a public funeral.

October 27th.—Lord Palmerston was buried to-day in Westminster Abbey, near Lord Canning.

November 2nd.—Called on Lady Jersey, where I found General Peel. Parliament will meet on the 23rd, but only to elect a Speaker and swear in the members.

From Lord Derby to Lord Malmesbury.

Knowsley: November 6, 1865.

My dear Malmesbury,—I have been wishing for some time to write to you, but I need not say that I had not a moment to myself last week, and the close of it left me with an arrear which I have not yet succeeded in writing off. I am happy to say, however, that our Royal party went off as well as possible, and without the slightest hitch. The weather, with the exception of one day, was magnificent, and it was impossible to exceed the enthusiasm of their reception at Liverpool. It was admirably managed, and though nearer half than a quarter of a million of people were assembled, there was not a single accident. Both the Prince and Princess of Wales made themselves exceedingly agreeable, discarding all approach to form, and setting everybody at their ease. They were in excellent spirits, and professed themselves, as indeed they seemed, delighted with their visit. Though rather too early in the year, I managed to give H.R.H. two very good days' shooting; the first on the Stockbridge beat (ending at the Liverpool Lodge), on which, with five guns, they killed 717 head, of which 280 were pheasants. The second day, our only bad one, it rained incessantly, but nothing would satisfy the Prince but shooting through it all, and on Massborough they bagged 967 head, of which 440 were pheasants—six guns. . . . And now a word or two upon political matters. I return the two documents enclosed in your letter of the 26th ult. There can be no doubt as to the correctness of your statement to the 'France,' as indeed that paper acknowledges, but several of

the English papers made precisely the same mistake, confounding the recognition of the Empire in 1852 with the *coup d'état* in 1851. Some are of opinion that the ultimate solution is to be found in a fusion. I do not greatly differ from them in this: but how it is to be effected is not so clear. If my retirement will facilitate the operation, and make way for a *substantially* Conservative Government, I shall put no obstacle in the way.

From what I hear, they mean to bring in a Reform Bill, but one of a very mild character, which we may find ourselves able to support; but this will be a breach with Baines, Bright, and Co., unless they announce that they mean it only as an instalment, in which case we could hardly support it, and they would fall between two stools.

Our policy must be regulated by that of the Government, and until that is decided we cannot pretend to have ours cut and dry.

Believe me ever yours sincerely,

DERBY.

The Earl of Malmesbury, G.C.B.

November 16*th*.—Lady Ely called, and announced the marriage of Princess Helena to the second son of the Duke of Augustenburg, and the Queen lends them Frogmore, so they will reside in England. The Duke of Wellington has made his wife resign her place as Mistress of the Robes, as he says he supposes Lord Russell will act consistently with his Whig principles, but I have since heard that she will remain for the present.

November 17*th*.—An insurrection has broken out in Jamaica at Morant's Bay, in the parish of St. Thomas. As far as can be at present known, the object of the rioters was to make a general massacre of all the white population, but the arrest of one of the principal leaders occasioned a premature outbreak, which has been suppressed in consequence of the vigorous measures taken by the authorities. Generals O'Connor and Nelson have done very well, and

shown great determination. The chief ringleader, Gordon, has been hanged. These men were not driven to these atrocious acts by ill-usage, but in order to get possession of the property of the English population, to murder all the men, and share the women amongst them.

November 27th.—I went to Knowsley.

December 5th.—The Queen has officially announced her intention of opening Parliament, but some slight alteration in the ceremony will be made. It is said that she will not read the Speech herself, and does not mean to wear her robes.

The King of the Belgians is dying, which may prevent her going there at all.

December 6th.—Went to see the Sphinx in the Egyptian Hall. It is certainly a wonderful illusion. The smile is the most extraordinary part, for it is so human, and such a merry one, quite lighting up the face. The movement of the lips was also perfectly natural; the only part which looked like mechanism is the stiff way in which the head bent forward. It was placed in a box on a small table, quite in front of the stage, under which one could see perfectly.

I hear that Sir Augustus Paget is to be sent to Mexico, which I sincerely hope, for his sake and my own, is not true.

December 10th.—The negro sympathisers have sent a deputation to Mr. Cardwell to ask for Governor Eyre's recall from Jamaica, which was saved by his courage; much to his credit, he has refused to do so. No man has been so unjustly

maligned or deserves greater reward; but humbug is the rule of the day.

King Leopold died yesterday at Laeken. The last years of his life were spent in perpetual terror of Louis Napoleon, and he was constantly alarming our Ministers and everybody on the subject.

December 14th.—The Government have given way to the clamour of the anti-slavery faction and of Exeter Hall, and have issued a proclamation suspending Mr. Eyre from his functions until after the investigations—a pretty reward for doing one's duty to one's country.

December 29th.—We have received the news by telegraph from India of the death of Lord Edward St. Maur, who, being out shooting, was attacked by a grizzly bear. Lord Edward defended himself with his knife, and they rolled down a hill together, the animal lacerating his knee. In the wild country in which he was, he could receive no medical assistance for two days, when his leg was amputated and he died under the operation. He was handsome, clever, and amiable, and being his mother's favourite child, I can hardly understand how she will be able to bear his loss.

1866

January 1st, Heron Court.—I arrived here from London, and brought down the Bretts, the Baillie-Cochranes, A. and Lady Paget, and the Charteris', but the rivers are too flooded for any wild-fowl shooting, and the gentlemen are restricted to killing pheasants—comparatively very tame sport.

January 10th and 11th.—It snowed for two days and nights, with a gale from N.E., which has blown down many of my trees.

A *pronunciamiento*, under General Prim, has taken place in Spain. He is one of the Queen's best generals. General Zabala has been sent in pursuit, and martial law is proclaimed in Catalonia and Arragon. The clubs and theatres are shut up at Madrid.

January 14th.—The flood of the Stour is higher than it has been since 1809, judging from the water-gauges which have been kept.

January 16th.—I went to a meeting at Christchurch, to defend the ancient rood screen at the Priory Church. The vicar, Mr. Nash, who wanted to remove it, has at last given in, finding the committee was against its demolition. I consider such an act would be barbarous and most silly as well, for 600*l.* were spent in the renovation of its carvings only twenty-five years ago; besides which, there is no doubt that it is one of the main supports of the church itself. The last century was passed by our churchwardens and parsons in whitewashing our ancient churches; the rage now is to alter and restore them according to the temporary rule of these authorities.

February 1st.—Parliament met to-day. Mr. Denison was chosen Speaker without opposition. Lord Russell wants to have Bright in the Cabinet, but the other Ministers refuse to admit him. Ossulston arrived for dinner.

February 6th.—The Queen opened Parliament to-day. She came in a state coach with her eight cream-coloured

horses, but entered by the Peers' entrance. She was well received, but did not wear her robes, which were placed on the Throne, and did not read the Speech, which was read by the Lord Chancellor. I did not attend the opening, being lame with gout, but reserved myself for the debate on the Address. The Government were severely attacked for their negligence with respect to the cattle plague. I am sorry to see that Lord Russell looks very old and feeble.

February 9th.—Returned to Heron Court. Sir Henry Wolff and Mr. Philip Rose arrived. The latter is Disraeli's legal adviser, and has been very useful to him, by his devotion and undoubted ability and knowledge of the world.

February 11th.—A violent gale, or rather hurricane, came on in the night, and continued till five or six in the afternoon. From two to four it was quite awful, and we thought every large tree in the place must be blown down. Seven gigantic elms fell in front of the drawing-room windows whilst Wolff and I were looking out, and the people in the cottages, wherever there were trees near, forsook them in terror and rushed to the house for shelter. The roads were so completely blocked up by fallen timber that Sir Henry Wolff, who meant to leave for Bournemouth, could not proceed half a mile, and had to come back.

February 12th.—We went out before breakfast and walked round the park. It was a sad sight to see those splendid elms lying prostrate, and the wide gaps they have left, which can never be filled up in the life of a man. Some were certainly three centuries old. I hear the storm was marked at Portsmouth at the figure 12, which is the

highest known, and this is illustrated by the supposition that if the keeper of an observatory saw the whole building on the point of being swept away, and kept his head cool, he would write down 12 and perish. The 'Times' adds that the force of the wind was forty pounds to the square foot, which is a regular East India cyclone.

February 16th.—Government in both Houses have announced the suspension of the Habeas Corpus in Ireland, such is the alarming aspect of the Fenian conspiracy.

February 17th.—The Bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus in Ireland has passed by 364 to 6. It was passed in the House of Lords before five and sent to Osborne immediately for the Queen's signature; it was returned to the House of Lords, who summoned the Commons and passed the Bill by commission at a quarter before one o'clock in the morning.

February 18th.—There is an attempt just now among a small and unimportant knot of individuals in the Conservative ranks to get rid of Lord Derby and put Disraeli or Lord Stanley in his place. I do not believe that either of them was privy to the scheme. I was sounded on the subject by one of the conspirators, but I met his very first observations, when I saw his drift, with the ridicule which it deserved, and asked him, 'Where is the rank and file?' to which he gave no answer, and I turned my back on him.

February 19th.—I was told by a lady just returned from Paris that, at a party at the Tuileries, Madame Korsakoff appeared in a dress cut almost down to her waist, looped

up at the knee, and with a very long train. A gentleman happening to tread upon it, she turned round very angrily, saying, 'Fichu maladroit!' to which he replied, 'Madame, le fichu serait mieux sur vos épaules que dans votre bouche.'

March 8th.—Second reading Church Rates Abolition Bill passed the Commons by 285 against 252.

March 11th.—Had a conversation with Lord Bath, and learnt from him that he wished for a coalition under a Whig Premier, but, although Gladstone is not called a Whig, I believe he was the man meant.

March 12th.—Gladstone introduced the Reform Bill this afternoon, and Barrington called soon after ten, and told me it was very ill received by the House. It is what is called a single-barrelled bill—*i.e.* only treats the question of the franchise and not the redistribution of seats, and is very unfair for the county constituencies, as it gives great preponderating power to the towns. The general impression is that it cannot pass.

March 15th.—I have had a very severe attack of gout in both knees and feet. I find our party are desponding about the Reform Bill; but Mr. Lowe, who opposes it, and who is Lord Lansdowne's member for Calne, says he can influence from thirty to thirty-five votes, and if so we are safe. The 'Times,' too, is beginning to write against it.

March 20th.—Lord Grosvenor[1] has given notice of an amendment to the second reading of the Reform Bill, to the effect 'that, in the opinion of the House, it is inexpedient to

[1] Now Duke of Westminster.

discuss a bill for the reduction of the franchise in England and Wales until the House has before it the entire scheme contemplated by the Government.'[1] This was received by the Opposition with loud cheers, and Ministers looked furious as much at its being brought on by the son of a great Whig Peer as at the resolution itself. This is the first symptom of desertion from them, and it will probably not be the last.

March 22nd.—Lady Derby has been at the point of death, having had congestion of the lungs. She had mistaken her doctor's order, and continued to lower herself, and had taken no nourishment for thirty-six hours; and when the doctor, who lives in the house, went to see her, she was sinking so fast, that he sent Fred Stanley to Lord Derby to say that she had not ten minutes to live; but he, being confined to his bed by a severe attack of gout, could not go to her, and sent her a farewell message by Lady Constance, who fortunately consulted the doctor before giving it; as he prevented her doing so, saying, 'A mouse running across the room might kill her.' Happily her life has been spared.

I hear the Dukes of Cleveland and Sutherland, Lord Lichfield, and other Whig Peers are against Gladstone's Reform Bill, but I am afraid the Government have got back some of Mr. Lowe's friends. The Queen of the French died yesterday at Claremont, aged eighty-two; she survived her husband sixteen years.

March 30th.—There are rumours of war between Austria and Prussia, on the subject of Holstein, which Prussia intends to annex. Thus the two spoilers are following the usual course under such circumstances.

[1] History repeats itself, e.g. 1884, but not the Duke of Westminster.

April 13th.—The debate last night in the House of Commons was interesting, Gladstone not explaining anything, but personal and abusive of Mr. Lowe, who made a spirited reply. Lord Grosvenor made a gentlemanlike speech in proposing his resolution, and Lord Stanley a magnificent one in seconding it, which is the finest and most statesmanlike speech Stanley has ever made.

April 14th.—We went to the private view of the portrait gallery at South Kensington. The light is perfect, and the pictures are well arranged. There are several of Mary Queen of Scots, but almost all different. None give one the idea of the great beauty she is supposed to have possessed. It was probably the prestige of her manner and of her great misfortunes that gained her this reputation.

April 18th.—Sir Fitzroy Kelly moved the rejection of the malt tax in the Commons, and was beaten by 235 to 150.

From Lord Derby to Lord Malmesbury.

St. James's Square: April 22, 1866.

My dear Malmesbury,—Whatever may be my regret at the decision which you have come to, as announced in your letter of Friday, I cannot say that it has taken me by surprise, or that I think your objections, with your frequent attacks of ill-health, to take an office involving such incessant and anxious labour as the F. O. are unanswerable. Your withdrawal will no doubt increase the difficulties of my position if I should be called on again to attempt the task of forming a Government; and though I should still hope to have the advantage of your services in some less hard-worked department, I confess that I do not, in the present state of parties, see my way to acceptance of office. I know that the disappointment of our friends, should I be called on and decline, will be very great; but I cannot, especially in the present unsettled state of affairs both at home and abroad, again undertake the duty without at least a

reasonable prospect of an assured majority. And even if we should succeed in carrying Lord Grosvenor's amendment, of which there is a fair prospect, the men who would vote with us on that question are so diametrically opposed to us on others of no less importance that, even if they had leaders with whom it would be more easy to confer than with those apparently at their head, I do not see how we could come to such an understanding as would enable us to carry on a Government together; and of the ordinary supporters of the present Administration, who will reluctantly go with them on this occasion, I cannot look to any who would have the courage to break off from their party to support a Government of which Disraeli and I should be the leaders. The prospect, however, of my being *sent for*, with whatever result, is sufficiently near to make it necessary to consider all possible courses, and I should be very glad to have an opportunity of talking the matter over with you, if you could call here at almost any hour to-morrow or Tuesday. On that day I am going over to Accrington for three nights, but I shall not go down till after the House of Lords on that evening, when I must say a word or two on the Qualification for Offices Bill. Yours sincerely, DERBY.

The Earl of Malmesbury, G.C.B.

April 23rd.—Every day increases the probability that the Government will be turned out on the second reading of the Reform Bill. I have told Lord Derby that my health will not allow me to take the Foreign Office again, and he was very kind about it, though he said it would add to his difficulties. He will, I hope, give the place to Lord Stanley, if he accepts office, which is doubtful, as the majority against us in the Commons is greater than in 1852 or 1858, and there is little chance of a coalition strengthening us sufficiently or permanently.

April 28th.—The second reading of the Reform Bill has passed by a majority of five only. At twelve o'clock I went to Disraeli and Lord Derby to tell them that I had seen Lord Granville, who said that Sir George Grey had gone

down to Windsor, so it is evident that Ministers have resigned.

May 1*st*.—Everything looks warlike, and I am afraid Austria will be crushed. Prussia and Italy are evidently in league together, and Count Apponyi suspects Louis Napoleon will join them for the purpose of getting the Rhine Provinces as the price of his assistance. Young Lord Lansdowne[1] called, and is giving our party all his aid.

May 3*rd*.—Lady Augustus Loftus[2] called, and said that when she left Berlin a few days ago the prospects of peace were improved; that Bismarck is the only person in the whole kingdom that wants war.

May 4*th*.—M. Rouher has declared that France will be strictly neutral between Prussia and Austria, and, if Italy attacks the latter, she must take the consequences. Lady A. Loftus told me that Victor Emanuel asked whether Prussia really meant to fight this time, and, on being answered in the affirmative, replied that this would be his opportunity. Italy has certainly been arming for the last month, which has of course occasioned a corresponding demonstration on the part of Austria; and the Prussians have coolly objected to their increasing their army in Venetia. The French might as well object to our sending troops to Ireland.

May 8*th*.—Gladstone brought forward his bill for the redistribution of seats. By grouping boroughs in Schedule A,

[1] This was the young Lord Lansdowne who died in 1866. His father, the eminent statesman, died in 1863.

[2] Lord Augustus Loftus was our Ambassador at Vienna.

and taking one member from boroughs in Schedule B, he gains forty-nine seats. He proposes giving twenty-six to the counties, sixteen to boroughs, and seven to Scotland.

The prospect of peace diminishes every day, and the Emperor Napoleon's speech at Auxerre will encourage the war party. He says: 'This department was the first to give me its suffrages in 1848, because it knew, with the majority of the French people, that its interests were my interest, and that I detested equally with them those treaties of 1815 which it is now sought to make the sole basis of our foreign policy.' This speech has produced great consternation at Paris. No one now doubts that an understanding exists between M. de Bismarck, France, and Italy, as against Austria. It is also rumoured that the Emperor never mentioned the treaties of 1815 in his speech, but sent the paragraph to the 'Moniteur' on his return to Paris with that addition. This makes it rather worse.

May 16th.—General Peel, whom I met to-day, is confident that the House of Commons will throw out the Reform Bill, but Mr. Lowe says that he has no material to work with, as people are so full of crotchets.

June 1st.—Lord Chesterfield died of a paralytic stroke. A very amiable man, and who had led the fashion in his day.

June 3rd.—Sir Henry Wolff called. Says the Conference is given up, and war will break out directly; also that the Government have promised the Adullamites to withdraw the Reform Bill altogether if they will steadily support them on all other occasions. The compromise is a disgrace to both

parties. That is their affair, and we are, of course, too glad to get rid of this foolish bill.[1]

June 5th.—The scene in the House of Commons yesterday was extraordinary when Captain Hayter's amendment was introduced. Lord Grosvenor declared he would vote against it, though he thought the Government bill a very bad one, but he has such confidence in Lord Clarendon that he was afraid of a change of Government, which would deprive the country of his services. Disraeli made a good speech in reply to prove that Lord Clarendon had failed in everything he undertook, and Captain Hayter withdrew his resolution.

June 12th.—Princess Mary's marriage with Prince Teck took place this morning. Count Karolyi, the Austrian Ambassador, has received orders from his Government to leave Berlin directly in consequence of the interference of Prussia in Holstein, which is a direct infringement of the treaty of Gastein and a *casus belli.* M. Rouher read a letter from the Emperor Napoleon to M. Drouyn de l'Huys in the Corps Législatif, in which he says, 'That, had the Conference assembled, his Government would have declared that France repudiated all idea of territorial aggrandisement so long as the European equilibrium remained undisturbed; that France would only think of an extension of her frontier in the event of the map of Europe being altered to the profit of a Great Power. France would, therefore, continue to observe an attentive neutrality.'

[1] The Adullamites obtained that name when Lord Grosvenor divided the House on the second reading of the Reform Bill, and rallied round him a variety of politicians, who were compared to those who took refuge in the Cave of Adullam.

June 16*th.*—News has been received that the Prussians have invaded Hanover and Saxony, so the war has begun.

June 18*th.*—I found the poor Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg very unhappy. They are obliged to return directly on account of the war, fearing that Prussia will seize their territory.

June 19*th.*—The Government were beaten last night by a majority of eleven on Lord Dunkellin's amendment to substitute rating for rental. The numbers were 304—315.

June 20*th.*—Gladstone announced yesterday that, in consequence of the vote of the previous night, the Government had communicated with the Queen at Balmoral, and Parliament would be adjourned until next Monday. Lord Russell made the same declaration in the Lords.

June 22*nd.*—We dined at the Tankervilles', and met Sir Robert and Lady Emily Peel, Mr. and Mrs. Lowe, Lord Abercorn, and Lord Dunkellin. Mrs. Lowe told me what I had heard from Lord Cranborne, that the Adullamites would not join Lord Derby, as they looked upon that as ratting, but were ready to coalesce with our party under Lord Stanley. This plot is therefore ripening, but it remains to be seen whether it can be put in execution. There is to be a debate upon foreign affairs to-morrow, and an attack upon Lord Clarendon, which, if successful, will be a vindication of my policy in 1859. Kinglake brings it on, and Sir Robert Peel supports him. The object is to show the injustice of accusing the Tory party of incapacity because they did not prevent the war of 1859 between Austria and

Sardinia, whilst the Whigs have made precisely the same failure this year.

June 25th.—A battle has been fought by the Italians, under the King, and the Austrians, commanded by Archduke Albert, near Verona. It lasted all day, and ended by the defeat of the Italians, who recrossed the Mincio. The Archduke has named it the 'Battle of Custozza.'

June 26th.—By her invitation, Lady Malmesbury went to see Lady Palmerston, who was much affected at seeing her, and talked a great deal about Lord Palmerston, regretting he had not given up office, as she thought if he had he might be alive now. Lady Malmesbury told her she felt sure it would have made no difference, only that he would have lost his interest in and enjoyment of the last months of his existence; for, having spent almost all his life in office, he would have missed the occupation dreadfully. Lady Palmerston was pleased to say that she regretted my intention of giving up the Foreign Office hereafter, and said she did so the more that her husband considered me the fittest man for it in our party. In further conversation she added that he had very serious apprehensions respecting Gladstone's future career, and considered him a very dangerous and reckless politician.

June 27th.—Lord Russell and Gladstone both announced that the Government had resigned, and the Queen accepted their resignation. I had an interview with Lord Derby this morning, and advised him, if sent for, to tell the Queen what was said about Lord Stanley being supported by a section of the Moderates. Forty Adullamites would join him, whilst only twelve would join Lord Derby.

After Lord Palmerston's death, which followed the dissolution of Parliament, the Liberal Government met the session with a nominal majority of seventy, believing them to be staunch supporters of Lord Russell, whereas many of them were Palmerstonians, and, as such, against Reform bills. The Government brought one in, but it was introduced in a piecemeal form and at once disgusted the House. Gladstone's want of temper rendered the measure still more unpopular, and its fate was settled by Lord Dunkellin, who beat Ministers by eleven. They threatened a dissolution, but found they would lose by it. The Queen being on a visit to Osborne for ten days, refused to shorten her stay, and the country remained for a month with Government in abeyance. At last Her Majesty returned, and appointed Lord Derby Prime Minister. He tried to form a coalition with some Whigs, and invited Lord Clarendon and the Duke of Somerset to join him. They refused. He then did the same by the Adullamites, most of whom also declined. Young Lord Lansdowne, who, at their head, had promised to support him, died suddenly, and this accident increased his difficulties. Encouraged by a meeting of twenty-three leading Conservatives, held at his house, Lord Derby formed the following Cabinet:—Lord Chancellor, Lord Chelmsford; President of the Council, Duke of Buckingham; Privy Seal, Lord Malmesbury; Secretary for Home, Walpole; Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Lord Stanley; Secretary for War, General Peel; Secretary for Colonies, Lord Carnarvon; Secretary for India, Lord Cranborne; Poor Law Board, Mr. Hardy; Board of Trade, Sir S. Northcote; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Disraeli; Secretary for Ireland, Lord Naas; Board of Works, Lord John Manners; Admiralty, Sir John Pakington.

June 28.—The Prussians are said to have been defeated in a great battle near Josefstadt.

July 1*st*.—The Duc de Richelieu and Lord Bath called, the latter very angry at Lord Derby's not giving up the formation of a Government when the Adullamites and Whigs refused to join him. The news from Germany is very unsatisfactory, but so confused that one may hope it is not so bad as it appears. Count Apponyi told me there was no reason to be discouraged at anything that has taken place, as Benedek declares himself quite satisfied; but a great battle is imminent. The Duc de Richelieu says that the feeling in Paris in every class is for the Austrians, and when the news arrived of their victory at Custozza, the French soldiers wanted to illuminate their barracks. This may prevent the Emperor interfering. Madame Apponyi told Lord Stanley there were two things he required to fit him to be Foreign Minister—namely, a wife and a house. He replied that a wife was easily got in London, but a house was much more difficult.

July 2*nd*.—We had a dinner for the Duchess of Cambridge. Hardwickes, Wiltons, Barringtons, Tankervilles, Dalkeith, Colville, Sir Hugh Rose, Mr. Corry, and Lord Cadogan. The Duchess of Cambridge is very low, bad news having been received of the Austrian army, which seems to have had the worst of it in several engagements. The needle-gun gives the Prussians an immense superiority, as it is a breechloader, and fires at least five shots to one of the common muskets.

July 4*th*.—There are reports of a great battle, in which the Austrians have been defeated, near Königgrätz.

July 5th.—The news of the battle between the Austrians and Prussians near Königgrätz is confirmed. It lasted thirteen hours. The Austrians fought gallantly, but were overpowered by numbers, and the Prussians have taken 1,400 prisoners and 116 guns. Field-Marshal von Gablenz is stated to have gone to the Prussian head-quarters with a flag of truce. Prince Lichtenstein and Count Windischgrätz are taken prisoners. Three archdukes are wounded. The handsome Count Festetics, who was the great dandy at Milan, has lost a leg. The Austrians have given up Venetia to the Emperor of the French, so that the consequence of this defeat is terrible.

July 7th.—Received the account of the death of young Lord Lansdowne, which took place yesterday. Whilst playing at cards at his club he was seized with paralysis, and became insensible till he died. I went to Windsor to-day with all my colleagues to receive the seals of office. A violent thunderstorm came on whilst we were there. The extraordinary success of the Prussians has alarmed all nations, who must lose no time in adopting the breech-loading gun, the main cause of their success. The muzzle-loading musket must be consigned to the company of bows and arrows.

July 9th.—The Prussians and Italians have agreed to an armistice of six weeks. The Italians ask to occupy two of the fortresses of the Quadrilateral at once; not a very modest request, considering that they have been lately defeated on every occasion. The House of Lords was quite full of peers and ladies to-day. Lord Derby entered soon after five, looking very pale and nervous when he rose to address the

House. His speech was good, and some parts very eloquent; but he was evidently enfeebled by illness. He was cautious in what he said about reform, declaring that he would not commit himself. He was followed by Lords Russell and Brougham, both looking very old and broken.

July 12*th*.—The accounts of the battle of Königgrätz (now called the battle of Sadowa) are most disastrous; the Austrian defeat has been complete, and, coming at the moment when they thought themselves victorious, the disappointment is harder to bear. Benedek had unaccountably left the key of his position unguarded, and the Prussians forced their way through his rear. He also had posted himself with a river in his rear, and without any bridges to facilitate retreat, so that many Austrians were drowned. The Austrians, having given up Venetia to the French, have withdrawn their troops, so the Italians may take possession without resistance, if the French allow them to do so. The Italians, on their part, refused to receive Venetia from the French, and Cialdini has crossed the Po.

July 15*th*.—Nothing can be worse than the news from abroad since Sadowa. There have been various engagements, in all of which the Prussians have been victorious, and they are in possession of Olmütz. The Emperor Joseph has, however, refused the conditions of the armistice, and will go on with the war. Benedek is superseded by the Archduke Albert, who beat the Italians at Custozza. The Austrians have retired from Venetia to join the main army at Vienna, only leaving garrisons in the fortresses. Louis Napoleon's mediation has come to nothing.

July 21*st*.—Disraeli made a speech on economy. Paking-

ton showed the navy to be in a very low state, and wished to build six turret-ships. The late First Lord, the Duke of Somerset, had spent much time and money in experiments, and there are not ships enough for our reliefs. The navy of France is superior in ironclads to ours, and that of Italy and Russia combined equal to ours. Disraeli would not believe this, and refused even 50,000*l.* to begin the turret ships. General Peel has ordered breechloaders for our army.

July 22*nd.*—Notices were posted to say Mr. Beales's meeting of the Reform League would not be permitted in Hyde Park to-morrow, and that the gates would be closed.

July 23*rd.*—The Reform League, after a notice to that effect, accompanied by an army of roughs, demanded an entrance into Hyde Park. This was refused; and their processions, headed by Mr. Beales and Colonel Dickson, of notorious memory, proceeded to Trafalgar Square; but the mob, to the amount of some 20,000, invaded the Park, tore down the iron railings, and were not driven out till after a desperate battle with the police, with the assistance of the Life Guards.

July 24*th.*—Walpole, Home Secretary, determined to guard the park with police and troops. Another affray took place between seven and ten, when the cavalry cleared the park; the roughs had passed the day in pelting carriages and people in the park.

July 27*th.*—These outrages have continued till to-day, when the Duke of Cambridge has decided that three more regiments of cavalry should be brought up if these demonstrations do not cease.

July 28*th.*—Quiet is restored in London. The preliminaries of peace between Austria and Prussia were signed at Nicholsburg. A naval engagement took place at Lissa between the Italian fleet, commanded by Admiral Persano (the man who betrayed the King of Naples), and Admiral Tegethoff, commanding the Austrian fleet, in which the Italian flagship, an ironclad, was run down and sunk by Tegethoff's flagship.

August 11*th.*—Parliament was prorogued.

September 1*st, Heron Court.*—The ratification of peace between Austria and Prussia was exchanged yesterday at Prague.

September 14*th.*—I got a letter from Lord Stanley, saying he fears the Americans intend to renew their claims for compensation for the mischief done by the 'Alabama.'

September 23*rd.*—The Italians are making preparations for celebrating the expulsion of the Austrians whilst they are still in Venice; their doing so with impunity speaks well for the good-nature of the Austrians. The Emperor Napoleon has gone to Biarritz. He returned very ill from Vichy.

November 1*st, London.*—Lady Paget and Sir Augustus came to-day to luncheon.

There is a horrible account in to-day's 'Times' of the atrocities committed at Palermo, encouraged by the monks and nuns, who themselves took part in them. The monks actually roasted one poor man alive, and another was condemned to be bitten to death, which was done by the women. I saw some despatches to-day confirming this account.

Dined with the Derbys, and met Sir Augustus and Lady Paget, Lord Carnarvon, Lord John Manners, Sir Stafford Northcote, and Lord Stanley. The Pagets start for Lisbon to-morrow, where he is appointed Minister.

November 9th.—Went at six o'clock to Guildhall to attend the Lord Mayor's annual dinner. Lord Derby made a very good speech and was greatly cheered. So was Disraeli. The dinner was over about eleven o'clock, which is earlier than usual.

November 16th.—I called upon Princess Edward, and found Lady Mary Craven there, both in the greatest alarm at hearing a report that the Prince of Wales has been killed in Russia. My arrival comforted them, for, as I knew nothing of it, it was evident that nothing had happened, or a telegram would have been received at the Foreign Office, and communicated to the Ministers. The two ladies were studying Zadkiel's almanack, and appeared to place implicit confidence in it, there being a prediction that some accident is to happen to the Prince in 1867.

November 17th.—I forgot to mention that on the night of the 13th, from twelve to four in the morning, a wonderful fall of aerolites took place. It had been foretold by the astronomers, but the newspapers made so little of it that we did not sit up, and missed a sight that will never occur again in our lifetime. On this occasion there were above a thousand of these meteors.

Mr. Barrington says he likes his place of private secretary to Lord Derby very much, and Lord Derby praises him.

December 1st.—I am invited by Her Majesty to Windsor,

and have sent an excuse to the Charteris', to whom I was engaged.

December 6th.—I returned from Windsor after two days. The Queen was very gracious, and complimented me upon the way I had conducted the Foreign Office when I was secretary for that department.

1867

January 3rd, Heron Court.—Lord Bath and Mr. Bentinck arrived. The thermometer has been down to 9°, and never rose above 17° all day. We killed fifty head of wild-fowl.

January 22nd.—Went to London to attend a Cabinet.

Cabinets every day to the end of the month; some at Lord Derby's, who was ill with the gout.

Parliament was opened by the Queen on February 5.

February 11th.—Disraeli laid our Reform Resolutions on the table. He dissatisfied the House by too long and ambiguous a speech.

February 16th.—New plan on Reform proposed by Disraeli. Four franchises, namely—5*l.* rated house; 50*l.* in savings bank; an educational franchise; and direct taxation, supposed, in its result, to give 680,000 voters to property and 360,000 to democracy. General Peel positively objects. The Press, in a body, abuse our resolution.

February 19th.—Cabinet on Reform. General Peel gives way, as he is the only dissentient.

February 20th.—Am summoned to Heron Court by Lady Malmesbury's dangerous illness.

She was unable to leave her bed till March 23. For three weeks she was given over, without hope of recovery, with congestion of the lungs. She was out of danger on the 20th, and her recovery regarded as miraculous. Meanwhile, after a Cabinet held on Saturday, Feb. 22, at which no difficulty occurred, and after Lord Derby's having gone down to Windsor to announce unanimity of the Cabinet, on Sunday night Lord Cranborne informed Lord Carnarvon that he could not agree to the Reform Bill as it stood, and must resign. Lord Carnarvon did the same, and at 8.30 on Feb. 25 they wrote to Lord Derby to call a Cabinet at twelve for Lord Cranborne to explain his objections. The confusion may be conceived, as at two P.M. Lord Derby had summoned his party to hear the new Bill, and Disraeli was to explain it at five in the House of Commons. It was a paralysis. The dissentients were now joined by General Peel, who refused to remain (he had dissented from the first), and in half-an-hour, at Stanley's suggestion, they agreed to meet the M.P.s with a bill founded on the 6*l.* and 20*l.* rating, to which the trio agreed. This crude action exposed us to great condemnation and ridicule.[1] No doubt the best thing in such a position would have been to accept the resignation of these three able and honourable men (however serious the loss), and to tell

[1] It was nicknamed the 'Six Hours' Reform Bill.' The seceders refused to adopt household suffrage and duality. It was also called the 'Ten Minutes' Bill.'

the truth to Parliament, deferring the Bill for a week. I wrote a strong letter to Lord Derby from Heron Court begging him to do this. The following Saturday it was done, and the Dukes of Richmond and Marlborough, and Mr. Corry, took the vacant seats in the Cabinet—the first as Board of Trade, the second as Colonial, Secretary; the third as First Lord of the Admiralty; Northcote, India; and Pakington, War Office. The statement made by Lords Cranborne and Carnarvon was that Disraeli and Baxter had completely mistaken their figures, and that the results would not be what we intended and would be perfectly fatal.

From Lord John Manners to Lord Malmesbury.

10 Downing St.: Feb. 26, 1867.

My dear Malmesbury,—I am truly sorry to hear of the cause of your absence from our distracted councils, and hope you will soon be able to bring a better account of Lady Malmesbury. I really hardly know where we are, but yesterday we were suddenly brought together to hear that Cranborne and Carnarvon withdrew unless we gave up household suffrage and duality, upon which announcement Peel said that, although he had given up his opposition when he stood alone, now he must be added to the remonstrant Ministers. Stanley then proposed that to keep us together the 6*l.* and 20*l.* rating should be adopted, which, after much discussion, was agreed to. We have decided to abandon the Resolutions altogether, and to issue the Boundary Commission ourselves. We are in a very broken and disorganised condition.

Ever yours truly,
JOHN MANNERS.

From the same to the same.

10 Downing St.: Feb. 28, 1867.

My dear Malmesbury,—I cannot tell you how sorry I was to read the sad opening sentence of your letter this morning. But I will obey your wish and send you a few words on the political

situation. A meeting of Conservative M.P.s was held at the Carlton to-day, Sir M. W. Ridley in the chair; between 120 and 150 present. Much difference of opinion, no resolutions passed, but a general disposition evinced in favour of rated residential household suffrage *v.* 6*l.* rating and an equal division of new seats between the counties and boroughs. An anxious desire expressed that we should fix upon the franchise we thought best and then stick to it, declining to carry our opponents' measures. They (our opponents) are, I believe, in equal difficulties, and are quite unable to take office at present. On the whole, though the situation is dangerous, I don't think it desperate.

Ever yours truly,
JOHN MANNERS.

March 19*th*, *London.*—To-day, all danger being now over, and having been allowed, by Lord Derby's kindness, to remain with my wife and attend her, I came up to town and heard that during my absence my dear old friend, Lady Jersey, had died, suddenly and without suffering, at the age of eighty. She was a most remarkable woman, and almost a European *personage*, for no crowned head or representative of royalty ever landed in England without immediately calling upon her and being found in her *salon* during his stay. Being, herself, the head of Child's bank, she had a very large fortune, and her husband might be said to be in manners and appearance *le plus grand seigneur* of his day. After a prosperous and exceptionally remarkable life she died, having lost, before its close, within a short time of each other, her husband and all her children, who had grown up to maturity, still showing, to the last, the courage and coolness for which she was famous.

March 23*rd.*—On Reform Bill. Dual vote given up.

March 25*th.*—Second reading of Reform Bill carried without a division, after a masterly speech of Disraeli's.

March 30th to April 6th.—Continual Cabinets on Reform Bill, Lord Derby being absent from gout.

April 13th.—Continued arguments in the Cabinets respecting the Reform Bill. Lord Derby still ill. Prussia has agreed to a conference respecting the garrison of Luxemburg. If she does not evacuate the place, Napoleon says he is resolved to make war. During the past week Gladstone resigned his leadership of the Opposition.

From Lord Stanley to Lord Malmesbury.

Foreign Office: April 23, 1867.

Dear Malmesbury,—Peace or war depends on whether Bismarck consents to withdraw the Prussian garrison from Luxemburg. If he consents, France will raise no difficulties as to the disposal of the territory. If he refuses, the Emperor must fight. He (Bismarck) is gone off into the country, evidently with the idea of escaping from inquiry and discussion till he can make up his mind. This is all we know, but any day or hour may bring decisive news.

We are asked to use our good offices, and are advising Prussia to give way, as the concession is slight, the justice of the claim unquestionable, and no other course holds out a hope of preserving peace.

I am not sanguine of averting a war, but in three or four days we shall probably know more.

Ever yours, STANLEY.

May.—Cabinets all May on Reform Bill. The *laissez-aller* system followed by the Government, trying to make the best they could of it, but constantly yielding something. The Conservative members seem disposed to adopt anything, and to think that it is 'in for a penny, in for a pound.' Seventy-two of them voted against their leaders upon Mr. Baines's motion to take one member from every borough whose population was below 10,000. Government was beaten by 127, thus abolishing fifteen members returned by the

agricultural interest, which will lose immensely by this bill.

The Sultan is coming to London. The Queen will not invite any of the other sovereigns who are at Paris. She appeared in state to lay the first stone of the Hall of Arts,[1] and then went off to Balmoral on May 22.

From the Queen of Holland to Lord Malmesbury.

Hague: May 4, 1867.

Dear Lord Malmesbury,—The bearer of these lines, Baron Fagel, heir to one of the best historical names of Holland, wishes to be introduced to you, and I cannot refuse him a few lines, as I well remember all your kindness when I had the happiness of being in London, two years ago.

Baron Fagel inherited all the papers of his uncle, Ambassador Fagel, who was the intimate friend of your grandfather. He possesses numerous letters of Lord M., several of which (those of the year 1813) I have read and found most interesting and curious, showing the elevated mind, the clear judgment of this eminent statesman. If they were published, they would throw light on the events and transactions of the beginning of the century, and I have advised Baron Fagel to undertake it.

I am of opinion—and I hope you will share it—that, when a certain time has elapsed, those documents belong to history, which is often better explained by the familiar letters of a political man than by official documents, where only part of the truth can appear.

May I beg you to remember me to Lady Malmesbury, whose health has caused us very serious uneasiness?

Believe me, dear Lord Malmesbury, very sincerely yours,

SOPHIA.[2]

[1] Albert Hall.

[2] The Queen was a very clever woman, and knew all the affairs of Europe better than most Ministers. In 1871, after the sacking of the Tuileries and the flight of the Empress from Paris, many public papers were stolen and published, and among them several letters from the Queen of Holland, giving the Emperor the best possible warning and advice as to the hostile intentions of Prussia and its military force; but they were laid aside and unheeded, like those of Stoffel, the military French Attaché at Berlin.

June.—Several Cabinets during this month on the Reform Bill, which each time became more Radical. The treaty of London on Luxemburg was signed the 11th of last month, preventing the war between France and Prussia, both sovereigns being glad of a way out of their dilemma.

The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia visited Paris, and the former was shot at.

After many vicissitudes, the Reform Bill came up to the House of Lords, and Lord Derby moved the second reading of the Reform Bill without a division, saying it was 'a leap in the dark.' Peers on our side were averse to it, but, at a meeting of them, Lord Derby said he would resign if it was rejected.

July 10th.—There is a very touching account in to-day's papers of the Emperor Maximilian's execution. He died like a Christian and a soldier. His poor wife has become quite insane. The French expedition to Mexico and its tragical end are a sad blot on Louis Napoleon's career.

Mr. Disraeli to Lord Malmesbury (on Proxies).

July 10, 1867.

My dear Malmesbury,—The Constitution of this country is a Monarchy, modified in its action by the co-ordinate authority of Estates of the Realm. An Estate is a political order invested with privilege for a public purpose.

There are three Estates—the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and the Commons.

The Estates of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal being very limited in number, their members can easily meet in their own chamber.

The Estate of the Commons being, on the contrary, very numerous, choose, for convenience, representatives instead of holding general meetings, like the Polish Diets.

The House of Commons is not an Estate of the Realm; its members are only the proxies of an Estate.

The Lords, in using proxies, possess and exercise the same privilege as the Commons, no more; and if it is not convenient for them to attend the meetings of their orders, they have the right to choose their representatives.

. . . . .

Yours sincerely, B. DISRAELI.[1]

July 12th.—We went to the Horse Guards to see the Sultan's entry into London. Two regiments of Life Guards lined the street, and the Foot Guards occupied St. James's Park. The Sultan has rather a melancholy, but noble, expression of countenance. The Prince of Wales was in the carriage by his side, and his ambassador, Musurus, opposite him.

July 16th.—Very stormy. Great fear entertained that the naval review to-morrow cannot take place, as a telegram arrived for the Admiralty saying that the ships at Spithead were pitching bows under at their anchors.

July 18th.—The Sultan went to Portsmouth, and was received on board the Queen's yacht off Osborne. He was invested by her with the Order of the Garter. Lord Derby had written to ask Her Majesty to give him the Star of India. Fortunately, Fuad Pasha told Ossulston, who was Lord Steward, that the Sultan would accept nothing but the Garter. The Sultan has the Bath, and he considers the Star of India less than the Bath, and would be much offended if it was offered him. I wrote to Lord Derby at

[1] This letter from Lord Beaconsfield was elicited, at my request, by the motion of the late Lord Stanhope in the House of Lords, abolishing the use of Proxies. It never was debated on really constitutional grounds, but merely on that of convenience, and the Peers appeared to have no idea of their origin, and that the custom was not a peculiar privilege or anomaly in the Constitution.

once; and it was given him in grand style by the Queen herself on the quarter-deck of the yacht, in the midst of the howling of the storm and the roaring of the cannon. As it was done in a hurry, there was no ribbon ready, so the Queen took the Prince of Hesse's ribbon, intending that it should be changed for a new one afterwards, but the Sultan refused to give it up, saying that the one he had was given him by the Queen, and that he would wear no other.

July 19th.—A splendid ball was given at the India Office to the Sultan. It was quite a fairy scene; but a melancholy event occurred, which will throw a gloom over the rest of the Sultan's visit. Madame Musurus, the wife of the Turkish Ambassador, was taken ill whilst leading her company to supper, and suddenly dropped down dead. As I was walking with Lady Manners through the ball-room, her dead body was carried out close to us.

July 29th.—Lord Derby is still confined to his bed, and I have to conduct the Reform Bill through Committee in the House of Lords. This is no easy work, especially with many of our men against me. Lord Cairns,[1] for one, carried an amendment against me by a large majority.

August 6th.—Lord Derby came down to the House, and gave up the 10*l.* for 15*l.* The third reading passed.

September 27th.—Garibaldi has been arrested, just as he was going to invade the Papal States. A few demonstrations have taken place in his favour, but all were easily dispersed by the troops, and Italy is quite quiet.

[1] The amendment was to raise the lodger franchise from 10*l.* to 15*l.*

October 14*th.*—I went to London, on my way to Manchester, to attend a Cabinet and a dinner given by Lord Derby. The attendance was very large, and Lord Derby's reception enthusiastic.

October 27*th.*—Garibaldi has escaped from Caprera, and has joined the insurgents near the Roman frontier. The Papal Zouaves have behaved gallantly and defeated the insurgents on every occasion. An attempt at insurrection has been made in Rome, but has failed; the population have no wish to join it. There is no doubt that the Italian Government have been favouring the movement, and that Louis Napoleon's firmness, and the demonstration he has made at Toulon, has frightened them.

November 1*st.*—The French army have landed at Civita Vecchia, and the Italian troops have crossed the frontier. Garibaldi is within three miles and a half of Rome. It will be very difficult now to prevent a collision between the French and Italians, and if, in that case, the Prussians interfere on behalf of Italy, there may be a general war.

November 4*th.*—Dr. Gull called and said that Lady Malmesbury must go to Pau, and that it would be very unsafe and dangerous for her to stay in England during the winter.

November 18*th.*—A Radical mob, calling themselves a deputation, forced themselves into the Home Office. Mr. Hardy refused to see them and sent for the police, but Sir R. Mayne could not be found, which created a delay, and in the meantime Mr. Finlen, an obscure man, made a most in-

cendiary speech, threatening that for every Fenian judicially murdered the life of some eminent man would be taken.

November 19*th.*—Very cold. Parliament was opened by Commission.

November 20*th.*—The Duke of Cambridge dined with us, also the Tankervilles, Saxe-Weimars, Stanhopes, John Manners, Macdonalds, Derbys, Wharncliffes, and Sir Edwin Landseer.

November 22*nd.*—There was a meeting yesterday at Clerkenwell, to petition the Queen to pardon the Fenians, but it was a failure. Two thousand working men at Manchester have offered to act as special constables, and have been sworn in. News from Italy says that the King is bent upon going to Rome, even at the risk of war with France.

November 23*rd.*—The three Fenian murderers were executed this morning at Manchester.

November 24*th.*—A procession to sympathise with the men who were hanged took place this afternoon in Hyde Park.

December 2*nd.*—Lord Derby having given me leave to attend Lady Malmesbury to Pau, we started, embarked at Folkestone, and proceeded to Paris. The cold is dreadful, the whole country covered with snow. We have a good apartment, but a very cold one, at the Hôtel Meurice.

December 5*th.*—We could not get the temperature of our

room above 50°. Lord Edward Thynne called and paid us a long visit, and, wanting to show us how to light a good fire by some dodge of lighting the wood at the back, he set the chimney on fire. The smoke came down in clouds, both in the drawing-room and bed-room, and we were driven into the dining-room, where we had to remain the rest of the day, the other rooms being full of Pompiers, and uninhabitable from the soot.

December 6th.—Left Paris for Bordeaux. At the station a porter let a heavy foot-warmer of iron fall on Lady Malmesbury's foot, causing the most dreadful pain, which she bore without complaining until we got to Bordeaux. I had no idea of the mischief done; but on arriving there we found the foot perfectly black and dreadfully inflamed.

December 9th.—After the appliance of some common remedies, we left for and slept at Dax. Meanwhile, Lady M.'s foot got much worse, and when we arrived at Pau the surgeon pronounced it a very serious injury. We found an excellent house, well furnished, with a beautiful view of the Pyrenees, taken for us by Baillie of Dochfour; but the cold was so fearful that we could not get the thermometer above 50°, generally ranging from 42° to 47° in the drawing-room. I put on my duck-shooting costume, and sat shivering by the fire, unable to get warm.

December 10th.—Mr. Bagnall, the surgeon, arrived, and looked very grave over Lady M.'s foot, saying the bone was splintered.

December 15th.—Heard from England that an attempt

has been made to blow up Clerkenwell prison, and rescue the Fenians, Burke and Casey.

December 16th.—Got an official telegram saying that the report is true. The prison wall had been blown up, and several houses opposite destroyed; three people killed, and forty wounded.

Miss Dashwood and I went to a play at Madame Paturle's, the widow of a rich merchant who was made a peer by Louis Philippe. The performance was an *opéra comique*, beautifully sung and acted.

December 17th.—It seems that some information of the intended attempt to rescue Burke and Casey had reached the Home Office. No one had any idea of the means that would be employed; but orders were given to take the prisoners out for exercise at ten o'clock instead of three, so they were not in the yard at the time the explosion took place. What seems very strange is that the police, some members of which specially patrolled the prison, although without any detective, never saw the barrel of gunpowder which was placed close to the wall.

December 21st.—We have not seen the sun for four days. This place has a very heavy, depressing atmosphere, and it is a fact that one day, when I went into the club, I found seven or eight of its members fast asleep, of which they all complain, saying they cannot help it.

December 26th.—I left Lady Malmesbury and Miss Dashwood to return to London, with a very unfavourable impression of the climate of Pau, which however is a very gay place, owing principally to the Russian society.

1868

January.—Several Cabinets met during the month without Lord Derby, whose illness kept him at Knowsley.

February and *March.*—On February 13 Parliament met, Lord Derby still unable to come up; and on the 16th there came very alarming accounts of him. Lord Stanley sent for. Lord Derby rallied two days afterwards, but resigned on Monday, 24th. Next day, Disraeli, who was made Premier, sent for me, and asked me to remain to lead the House of Lords as Privy Seal. Previously, and foreseeing this event, the Dukes of Richmond and Marlborough and I agreed to stand together and support the Government of Disraeli or Stanley, should the Queen appoint either of them to be Premier. I afterwards found that Disraeli had offered the leadership of the House of Lords to the Duke of Marlborough, who very generously refused, saying that I had a prior claim, and had filled the place to the satisfaction of the Peers.

Disraeli told me, on my going to see him, that he should part with Lord Chancellor Chelmsford, and appoint Lord Cairns, a very efficient addition to our strength in the Lords, where our bench is comparatively weak in debate.

Lord Chelmsford (as Lord Derby told me, when in 1866 he formed his Government) was re-taken, only *pro tem.*, and it was settled that he should make way some day for Sir H. Cairns. The health of the latter failed, and he took the Chief Justiceship for Appeals, but refused a Peerage. In 1867, the House of Lords required more strength for Appeals, and then Lord Cairns consented to be called up.

This being the case, Lord Chelmsford had no right to be angry at Disraeli's arrangement, but he was so, and appealed to Lord Derby, who confirmed the decision, as being consistent with his original agreement. The fact is that Disraeli should have written a letter to Lord Chelmsford under the circumstances; but I believe he did not write to him at all, or, at all events, not at first. Disraeli's first Cabinet met on Monday, March 2, Mr. Ward Hunt being added to it, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, besides Cairns. He is a giant in body, being six feet four, and weighing twenty stone. When he knelt to kiss hands, he was even in that position taller than the Queen. I led the House of Lords till the recess. No time was given them to discuss or alter anything in the Reform Bill. A violent altercation took place on the subject of the Lords altering the boundaries as fixed by the Commons, in opposition to the scheme of the Royal Commission. Walpole and Sir Stirling Maxwell have completely thrown us over on the Commission, and the Government was helpless, as they had not divided once.

From Mr. Disraeli to Lord Malmesbury.

March 2, 1868.

My Lord,—The lamented illness of Lord Derby having compelled his retirement from the head of affairs, I have been entrusted by Her Majesty with the formation of a new Administration.

In making this announcement to your Lordship, permit me to express an earnest hope that you will continue to the present Government the same measure of support which you extended to the last.

I should hardly presume to make such a request, had I not the consolation of feeling that I am supported by the confidence of Lord Derby.

I have the honour to remain, my Lord, your faithful servant,

B. DISRAELI.

April 5th.—Government has been beaten on Lord Stanley's amendment. We shall not resign, but dissolve, and meet a new Parliament.

April 22nd.—A gale has been blowing for the last three days, and the French boats have not been able to cross till to-day, when Lady Malmesbury arrived in London from Pau.

April 24th.—The Duke of Buckingham called on me to say that a telegram had just been received from Australia, saying the Duke of Edinburgh had been attacked at a public breakfast. The telegram in cypher was so unintelligible, that it was impossible to make out whether he was killed or wounded. The Duke wrote to Sir Charles Grey, leaving it to his discretion to tell the Queen.

April 25th.—Another telegram has been received. The Prince was shot at by a Fenian of the name of O'Farrell, and was wounded in the back. The ball struck a rib near the spine, and ran round his body, but without touching any vital organ.

April 26th.—News has been received announcing the fall of Magdala, and the Abyssinian king, Theodore, killed. The battle took place on the plain before Magdala, on Good Friday, and the Abyssinian army was totally defeated by General Napier.[1] Theodore sent all the prisoners to the camp—men, women, and children; but Napier insisted on his surrendering himself a prisoner. This he refused, and shut himself up in Magdala, a strong fortress, with those troops that remained faithful. The fortress was stormed

[1] He was raised to the peerage with the title 'of *Magdala*.'

and taken; Theodore being found dead, though it is not known whether he was killed or committed suicide.

The Duke of Edinburgh is going on well. The Duke of Buckingham saw the Queen last Saturday at Osborne. She cried at first, but soon recovered her calmness, and thanked the Duke for coming down to Osborne.

May 2nd.—The Ministers are very angry with Disraeli for going to the Queen without calling a Cabinet, and the Duke of Marlborough wants to resign, but I have done all I could to dissuade him from this course.

May 4th.—Disraeli, in the Commons, and I, in the House of Lords, announced that the Queen had refused to accept the resignation of her Ministers, and consented to dissolve Parliament if necessary.

May 6th.—Gladstone made a bitter attack on the Government, saying that the above-mentioned speeches required further explanation as to what passed between Disraeli and the Queen. Disraeli said the permission Her Majesty gave him to dissolve only applied to the Irish Church question, and, if other difficulties arose, he must of course again refer to her. Nothing can exceed the anger of Gladstone at Disraeli's elevation. He wanted to stop the supplies on Monday, the 4th, but found his party would not go with him.

May 8th.—Second and third resolutions on the Irish Church Bill came on first, and were passed without division, but under protest from Disraeli; after which a very angry discussion ensued. Disraeli said the Irish Church question

had introduced the elements of confusion, and its partisans were already quarrelling over the plunder. Bright got up, and attacked Disraeli in his most violent hustings style, calling him pompous and servile, accusing him of deceiving the Queen, &c. Disraeli replied in the most gentlemanlike manner, and was cheered by both sides of the House.

May 18*th*.—We dined with the Hardwickes, and met Lord Clarendon, who told some amusing stories of the sayings of the Americans at Rome. One lady, who lived in the Via Babuino, near a Jesuit propaganda college, said, 'I live in Baboon Street, opposite one of the Pope's propagating houses.' An American gentleman, being asked what he thought of the Venus de' Medici, said, 'I never allow myself to be sat upon by those stone girls.'

May 19*th*.—Government were beaten last night in two divisions on the Scotch Reform Bill by twenty-one and twenty-two.

May 21*st*.—Disraeli asked the Commons to reconsider their vote on the rating clause of the Scotch Reform Bill.

May 23*rd*.—I dined with Disraeli, who gave a great dinner to the Peers for the Queen's birthday. The Duke of Cambridge was present. We went afterwards to Apsley House, where there was a smart, very small party, all beautifully dressed. The Duke of Wellington has just been made Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex.

May 25*th*.—Went to St. James's Church for Lady Cornelia Churchill's marriage. She looked lovely, and I never saw anything more perfect than her manner.

May 29th.—I had to speak in the House of Lords in answer to Lord Russell's attack on the Government, and when I sat down no one supported him. Lord Derby seemed pleased and satisfied.

June 14th.—The Prince of Servia has been murdered, as he was walking in his park. His cousin, Princess Anka, and her daughter, who were walking with him, were also shot by the three assassins, who were armed with revolvers. The Prince was killed on the spot, Madame Anka died in a few hours, the Princess was only slightly wounded.

June 22nd.—The Queen gave a breakfast in the garden of Buckingham Palace, and 600 were asked. She walked from the Palace, attended by the Lord Chamberlain and the Duchesses of Wellington and Roxburgh, and received her company very graciously. She was looking remarkably well, and everybody said she seemed to enjoy her party.

June 24th.—The heat is extraordinary; the papers state that the maximum in the shade from the 12th to the 21st has ranged from 78° to 95° Fahrenheit.

July 9th.—In the middle of the debate in the Lords, Hardy and Hunt came to me to say that the Commons had passed an important amendment to the Scotch Reform Bill on its being brought back from the House of Lords. The Government, not expecting such a breach of faith, were not prepared to oppose it, and it was carried, but they were most anxious that the House of Lords should be firm and throw it out *coûte que coûte*. Cairns was half inclined to let it pass, but I took the responsibility upon myself and appealed to

Lord Russell, who promised to assist me in rejecting this amendment, which he owned was a breach of faith.

July 18th.—The heat is quite extraordinary, and no such summer has been known in England for many years.

July 27th.—A sad accident occurred at Portsmouth, by which Herbert Meade [1] lost his life. He was sealing a cap of a shell with gutta-percha, when it exploded and killed him, with his attendant. Lord Clanwilliam was at Homburg. The Queen is going to Switzerland on the 5th.

August 21st.—A fearful accident happened yesterday to the Irish Limited Mail, which ran into some trucks laden with petroleum near Abergele. The concussion was not very severe, but the oil exploded and set fire to the carriages next to the engine, consuming four with everybody in them. The Duchess of Abercorn, with several of her children, were in the train, but, being at the other end, escaped unhurt. The smoke produced by the petroleum was so thick that those who got out of the carriages were not aware that the front of the train was on fire, and only thought of saving the mail-bags. The unfortunate passengers must have been suffocated at once, for not one attempted to escape, and not a cry was heard. Upwards of twenty are supposed to have perished, amongst whom were Lord and Lady Farnham, Judge Berwick, and Miss Berwick.

August 31st, Heron Court.—Sir Augustus and Lady Paget, Sir Henry Wolff, the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and Lord Edward Thynne, arrived.

[1] Lord Clanwilliam's son.

September 10th.—I rode to Canford. Lady Cornelia looks very happy and pleased with her house and everything belonging to her.

September 23rd.—I left for London, intending to embark to-morrow for France.

On leaving Paris I went to Nancy, which is an interesting town, and thence down the valley of the Meurthe to Remiremont, which is a most beautiful drive. The whole scenery of the Vosges is equal to anything I know. On arriving at Remiremont, I strolled out from the inn and met a man fishing in a beautifully clear river. For a five-franc piece he lent me his rod, and in half an hour I had caught some very fine trout of two or three pounds each. The inn is not very good, and I left Remiremont the next day, and reached Gérardmer, a sort of watering-place in the mountains. The scenery here is perfection; lakes and thick pine forests, with large openings made in them where inns and villas have been built. The country is full of bright streams, in which it is said there is excellent trout-fishing, and this must be the case. The pines are of vast size, and numbers of walks and paths have been cut through the woods. The hotel was very comfortable, but it is new, and the place not yet frequented; when developed and better known it cannot fail to be a favourite resort for a holiday.

From Gérardmer I went on to Plombières, where Louis Napoleon and Cavour met in 1858 and settled the fate of Italy and Savoy. It is a clean, but very dismal, town, with nothing to distinguish it but the compact between these two men.

I returned to Nancy, and on reaching Strasburg and

entering the hotel I was told to my horror that Count Walewski was just dead there. He was seized with apoplexy soon after he had arrived with Madame Walewska. She is in bad health, and he had helped to carry her upstairs, seated her on a chair, and went into the next room. He immediately called out to his daughter, 'Give me a glass of water, quick! and a doctor!' They rushed in and found him on the floor quite dead. He had a complaint of the heart, and carrying Madame Walewska upstairs probably brought on the attack. I have had a great deal of official business and social relations with him, and always found him agreeable and a perfect gentleman.

From Strasburg, I returned straight to London, *viâ* Rheims and Amiens, the shortest route to England.

October 28th.—The Dowager Duchess of Sutherland died yesterday. We returned from Benacre, in Norfolk, which had been hired by Colonel Charteris, where we had some very good partridge-driving.

November 12th.—I went yesterday with the Duke of Marlborough to Windsor for the Privy Council. Disraeli looked put out. I think Her Majesty wanted the Bishop of London to be made Archbishop, but he objected.

November 18th.—Sir Henry Wolff has been beaten at Christchurch by a majority of forty-two. Everything proves what a Radical bill Lord Derby and Disraeli have brought in, for Sir Henry was supported by every gentleman in the neighbourhood. The elections are going on as badly as possible all over the country, so our fate is decided.

November 21*st.*—Blenheim, where I am having some excellent shooting. A large party here: Mr. and Mrs. Holford, Lord and Lady Mount Charles, Mr.[1] and Mrs. Hardy, Lord and Lady Feversham, Lord and Lady Alan Churchill. Mrs. Holford sings beautifully.

November 26*th.*—Seeing we were in a dead minority, Mr. Gathorne Hardy told me that he was for resigning at once, without waiting to be turned out by a vote of the Commons.

November 28*th.*—We held a Cabinet, and determined to resign at once.[2] Disraeli is going to Windsor immediately. The counties have behaved splendidly, and the 'Times,' of course, says that they must be reformed, grudging us our miserable minority of 272. Mrs. Disraeli has been made Viscountess Beaconsfield.

December 2*nd.*—Cabinet Council to-day, at which Disraeli read the manifesto which he addresses, on going out, to his party in both Houses. The Government are unanimous for resignation.

December 5*th.*—I went to Hatfield. The 'Times' says that Gladstone has nearly completed his Cabinet, and gives the list of its supposed members, which are certainly as Radical as possible. Big Ben called, and said he had heard that Disraeli wanted to throw over the Irish Church, but, finding his colleagues would not go with him, was forced to resign. I told him this was not true, and that I believed he invented the story himself. The majority of my people and

[1] Afterwards Viscount Cranbrook.

[2] In 1874 our successor, Mr. Gladstone, saw himself in exactly the same predicament, and resigned without facing Parliament.

labourers at Heron Court voted against Wolff, my bailiff telling them, 'You must vote for Wolff, but you are voting against yourselves.'

December 10th.—Parliament met to-day, but the Queen's Speech will not be before Tuesday. The new Administration is composed as follows:—Premier, Mr. Gladstone; Foreign Secretary, Lord Clarendon; Home Secretary, Mr. Bruce; Colonies, Lord Granville; War, Mr. Cardwell; India, Duke of Argyll; Admiralty, Mr. Childers; Lord Chancellor, Lord Justice Wood; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lowe; Board of Trade, Mr. Bright; Lord President, Lord de Grey; Privy Seal, Lord Kimberley; Postmaster-General, Lord Hartington; Poor Law Board, Mr. Goschen; Secretary for Ireland,[1] Mr. Chichester Fortescue; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Spencer; Attorney-General, Sir Robert Collier; Solicitor-General, Mr. Coleridge; Lord Steward, Lord Bessborough; Lord Chamberlain, Lord Sydney.

A Council is held at Windsor to-day, for the Household to give up their badges of office.

December 15th.—The two Houses will probably adjourn till February, when the Queen's Speech will be delivered. Lord Derby is still ill, and obliged to be carried up and down stairs.

December 19th.—It is now settled that Lord Cairns is to lead the Conservative party in the House of Lords, as I have given up the leadership. Lord Cairns sounded Lord Salisbury as to whether he would lead the Opposition, but he refused to do so at present, although he seemed pleased, but promised his support, and is now cordially with us.

[1] Now Lord Carlingford, President of the Council, 1884.

From Lord Derby to Lord M.

Knowsley: December 20, 1868.

My dear Malmesbury,—Your ideas about the 'latter half' of a month appear to be of the vaguest, as you were unable to come here either on the 11th or from the 18th to the 23rd—however, come when you will, you will always be sure of a welcome. I had hoped to get the Cairns down here on the 11th, but they are making a flying visit to Rome, and will not, I imagine, be back till just before the meeting of Parliament, which, by the way, the new Government have put off quite as long as was decent for men who were in such breathless haste to carry out their policy. I should have liked to have had an opportunity of talking over the subject of the 'lead' with you and Cairns, but on the whole I think the proposed arrangement, subject to Disraeli's concurrence, which of course should be had, is satisfactory. I am not sure that it would not be more so, considering how new Cairns is to the bulk of the party, if you were to hold on till Easter, before which, especially as it falls early, our House will not have much to do.

Yours sincerely, DERBY.

1869

January 1st.—Left London for Heron Court.

January 5th.—Lord and Lady Bath, Lady Ailesbury, and Colonel and Lady Margaret Charteris arrived, but the rivers were too high for any wild-fowl shooting.

January 19th.—I went to Knowsley, where Lord Derby is laid up with gout.

January 26th.—Lord Derby approves of my having given up the leadership of the House of Lords. He also acknowledges that he was wrong in his disapproval of Government going out before Parliament met. He thought at the

time that our party would blame us for doing so, but now he sees that, far from that, they applaud what they all consider a dignified and honest course. The little Prince Royal of Belgium is dead, after a long illness. He was the only child, and his loss is much regretted by his country.

February 6th.—A terrible accident has occurred out hunting near Newby. Sir Charles Slingsby, master of the hounds, Sir George Wombwell, two Mr. Vyners, some other gentlemen, and eleven horses, attempted to cross a ferry. The river was flooded and rapid, and the horses became restive, upsetting the boat. Sir Charles Slingsby got clear, and nearly reached the shore, when he threw up his arms, and immediately sank. Sir George Wombwell was saved by Mr. Vyner, who pulled him out of the boat, which was floating bottom upwards. Five persons and eight horses were drowned.

February 15th.—I gave the Parliamentary dinner to-day to twenty-three Peers. I addressed them, and informed them of my resignation of the leadership of the Opposition in the House of Lords, and proposed as my successor Lord Cairns, who was unanimously chosen.

February 16th.—Parliament was formally opened to-day, but the Queen was not present. The Address was carried without opposition. Lord Derby is better, and went to the House.

Everybody is talking of Mr. Bright's speech at the Fishmongers' dinner, in which he said that the advice he gave his colleagues was seldom followed, and his whole tone was so offensive that it is supposed he intends to resign office

whenever he can do so. He is said to be perfectly inefficient as a man of business, and so indolent, that he hardly ever goes to his office.

February 18th.—I called on Lady Palmerston to inquire after her daughter, Lady Jocelyn, who has been thrown out of a cab and much hurt. I hear that 8,000 people attended Sir C. Slingsby's funeral. His horse and the hounds, immediately after the accident, returned to look for him, and remained by the body.

March 2nd.—Gladstone introduced his Irish Church Bill yesterday in a speech of three hours. It disendows as well as disestablishes the Irish Church, and abolishes the right of the Bishops to sit in the House of Lords after January 1871. The property of the Church amounts to sixteen millions, all of which falls into the hands of the State. It is a complete act of spoliation, and far beyond what was expected.

We went to Miss Pennefather's wedding-breakfast at Lady Emily Hankey's. She marries Lord Stanhope. Disraeli was there. He told me the Queen had sent him her last book.

March 3rd.—A very hard frost, which has killed all the blossoms.

March 8th.—I left London for Italy, on a visit to the Pagets. Sir Augustus is Minister at Florence. I crossed in a snowstorm, and the cold was so great at Calais that I could not sleep undressed.

March 10th, Paris.—I started at 7.15 this evening for

Nice, from whence I posted by the Corniche to Genoa, and then by railway to Florence.[1]

March 25th.—We heard that the Irish Church Bill was carried in the Commons by a majority of 118. The weather at Florence was very bad; it rained all day.

March 26th.—I sent a telegram to Lady Malmesbury, asking her to ascertain whether our party meant to oppose the Life Peerages Bill, which I should resist to the utmost if I were present, and I would go back on purpose to do so.

The state of Italy is most wretched, and it is on the eve of bankruptcy; they are paying dearly for their dream of liberty. They have got conscription, ten per cent. income tax, all other taxes trebled, and money is so scarce that they have paper notes down to 2½*d.* They still cry out to have Rome as a capital. If that is ever accomplished, the people who are laying out money to enlarge Florence will be half ruined.

March 30th.—I heard with great grief of the death of my popular old friend, Matt Burrell. He was thrown from his horse on the 24th, in a remote part of his parish of Chatton, in Northumberland, and lay in the road, quietly waiting for the labourers to come home from their work, as he could not move, having broken both bones of his leg. He was taken home, and at first was thought to be doing well; but his heart suddenly stopped, and he died on the 29th. He was a most popular man and an excellent clergyman.

[1] I found the Pagets in the Orlandini Palace. They received me with the greatest kindness and hospitality, and I enjoyed myself for three weeks in this beautiful town, which is much improved, and made the capital of Italy. There are an immense number of new buildings, and large sums have been invested in new streets.

April 16th.—Returned from Italy on the 13th. The Irish Church Bill was resumed last night, and Mr. Newdegate's motion, 'That the bill be committed that day six months,' was rejected by a majority of 126.

April 20th.—Called on Lord Derby, who was very feeble, and suffering to-day from the exertion of going to the House of Lords yesterday.

April 27th.—In the House of Lords the Life Peerages Bill came on. Lord Derby and Lord Cairns supported the second reading, which passed without a division. I shall divide the House upon it at a future stage.

Lord Malmesbury's Speech on the Life Peerages Bill, April 27, 1869.

My Lords,—It is not my intention to oppose the second reading of this bill, although I confess that if I had been present when it was first introduced into your Lordships' House I should have been an exception to the unanimity with which it seems to have been received. Let your Lordships consider what you are about to do in agreeing to the principle of this measure. From what I have heard and read of the last debate, I think that the importance of this measure has hardly been realised by your Lordships, and that, in assenting to it, you may perhaps be doing more than you are aware of. The noble earl who has introduced the Bill (Earl Russell) is no doubt one of our greatest reformers. He has also written upon the Constitution—a subject which no man is supposed to understand better than himself. But in all his reforms, important as they have been—in his reform of the House of Commons in 1832; in his proposed reform of the House of Commons afterwards, which he did not carry into

effect; and in the reforms of the House of Commons which he assisted the late Government to carry—the noble earl has always kept strictly within the lines of the Constitution. In altering the House of Commons, he proposed nothing that could be called innovation; he extended the lines of the Constitution, but kept strictly within them. Now, in the present measure, the noble earl has proposed a great innovation—he has gone altogether beyond the lines of the Constitution, and is not only proposing to alter the principles upon which the House of Lords has always existed, but he is altering the Constitution at the same time. I am very much mistaken if it is not one of the first principles of the Constitution that a peerage should be hereditary; that, indeed, is the very essence of a peerage. Now, the bill at once sweeps away that principle.

The term 'Life Peer' is a singular blunder, as it appears to me, for the life peers contemplated by the bill would not really be peers, because they will not be the *pares* of those who will be their colleagues in this House. The meaning of that word, as we have always understood it, is, that here all are equal in social position, in political rights, and in that great privilege of handing down our names and titles to our posterity. Now, the life peers will not be equal to ourselves in respect of this most important privilege; they will be unable to transmit to their sons the titles and dignities given them by the Crown. Nor, again, if we look upon ourselves as the nobility of the country, will they be noble, because the very essence of nobility is the transmission of that distinction to the son of the recipient. A peerage, as it exists in this country, is a very modern institution as compared with that of nobility. Nobility is one of the oldest institutions in the world. In the Roman

Empire, from the earliest ages, there were patrician families, showing that the nobility was handed down from generation to generation. In the feudal ages, also, nobility was always considered hereditary; and to such an extent was this carried, that though the Crown could create, it could not withdraw a title, except by reason of felony, treason to the Crown, or cowardice in the field, proved against a person in the ranks of the nobility. No doubt the monarchs of those days were often reckless of all principles whatever; but they adhered still, for form's sake, to the one I have mentioned, when they wished to get rid of certain nobles—organised conspiracies against them, and got up sham accusations and sham trials; but they were always obliged to prove acts of felony before they could deprive these nobles of the titles which the Crown had conferred upon them.

Your Lordships are therefore, I think, about to go a step further than you really intend, because you will, by the creation of these life peerages, be making a very great innovation, not only among your own nobility, which has the privilege of being also an Estate of Parliament, but infringing on the first principles of nobility as it has existed for fourteen centuries before the establishment of English peerages. I am, moreover, afraid that some members of your Lordships' House, who have spoken on this question, have made rather too light of the apprehension that those peers, who, being created only for life, will be unable to hand down their titles and honours to their descendants, will be regarded as not being equal to those whose peerage is placed upon a different footing. If I know something of human nature, I cannot help being of opinion that there will be a feeling, so far as they are concerned, not certainly of the slightest disrespect, but that they are of a grade not quite on a level with the

rest of your Lordships. I may add I have always observed that the greatest pleasure a man derives from having the honour of the peerage conferred upon him by the Crown arises from the fact that he is enabled to transmit it to his son and his successors. I have even known instances of men who, being childless, declined the honour of a peerage, saying it was of no value to them, but that, if they had sons, they should be glad to accept it. Now, that is the feeling; it appears to me to be a noble sentiment, and one which ought to be respected, and I should be very sorry that the nobility of this country should not look upon it as the highest privilege they could possess to be able to transmit their title and distinctions to their posterity.

I very much doubt whether many persons will be found to seek for the honour of a life peerage, for it seems to me it would amount—I will not say to an insult, but to a very humiliating slight, to offer a gentleman a peerage, and at the same time to tell him that the title and dignity conferred upon him shall not descend to his son, supposing him to have one. To a man who happens to have no son, indeed, it may be of less consequence whether his peerage is for life or not; but then no good reason can be urged against making a man in that position a peer after the old fashion, if it is deemed desirable that the peerage should be conferred upon him at all. You object to giving a man a peerage which shall be hereditary because he does not possess the means you deem to be necessary to support the honour of the next generation; but how do you know that his son, if he had one, might not, by marriage, or some other honourable means, acquire a fortune sufficient for the support of the dignity? But, my Lords, I, for one, protest against the justice of the statement that it is necessary a peer should be

rich in order to maintain in this country the respect which belongs to his position. It might have been very well to use such an argument as that seventy or eighty years ago, when public opinion obliged every peer to live ostentatiously; when he could not drive out without having four horses to his carriage, and being attended by outriders, and when he wore his stars and ribands morning and night. There is, however, no sort of resemblance between the state of things which existed in those days and that which exists at present. A peer now comes up to town by railway, in the company of every person who chooses to travel in that way; he moves about as unostentatiously as any other class of persons. There are, in fact, no such distinctions in many respects as formerly prevailed between a peer and other members of the community, and there is therefore, I contend, no necessity whatever why they should require to have large fortunes to maintain what is called their dignity in this country. They are respected, not according to their riches, but their usefulness as members of the legislature and in their several localities.

It seems to me, then, that the arguments founded on poverty, when urged in favour of the institution of life peers, fall altogether to the ground. And let me suppose that poverty furnishes a good reason why we should resort to the creation of life peers. Would not such a state of things be calculated to throw a dangerous power into the hands of the Minister of the Crown who is to decide upon the persons who are to receive such peerages? Would not peers so made be very much under the command of the Minister by whom they happened to be created? Again, a life peer falls into bad health, and the Minister will have twenty applications to supply his place. Now, that being

so, I should like to know from the noble earl who has brought this bill forward, and who has said it will not have any effect on the state of parties, how he arrives at that conclusion. Let your Lordships consider the probabilities of the future by the experience of the past. The noble earl is aware that his party has been in office twenty-nine out of the last forty years, and, if that be true, is it not fair to calculate that they would have had the appointment of at least three-fourths of those twenty-eight life peers in that time, enough to decide, in the course of seven years, the result of a division in your Lordships' House, for, when I divided the House on a question relating to the Danish War, the party majority in a full House, was, I believe, only nine?

These, my Lords, are some of the objections which I entertain to this proposal. It would, however, seem that you are about to give a second reading to the bill; and I would simply observe, in conclusion, that I cannot help thinking you may hereafter have cause to repent what you will have done, if you assent to the creation of life peerages, when, on the occasion of great divisions, much discontent will be expressed; and it will be said by the public, 'Such and such a bill was only carried by the votes of life peers.'

May 1st.—Debate last night in both Houses on the state of Ireland, which is worse than it has been for some time. Two murders have been committed within the last week, and a great number of threatening letters have been received, which always precede the murders. It is evident that the Church Confiscation Bill has increased the agitation rather than diminished it, as the lower orders think they will now get all they want by violence. What they really want is the land.

May 6th.—The state of Ireland gets worse, and the Government have decided to pass a bill to deprive the Mayor of Cork of his office of mayor, and to prevent his exercising the duties of magistrate. One morning he got up, went to the court two hours before the other magistrates, and discharged all the prisoners, without hearing any evidence.

May 12th.—My uncle, Admiral Dashwood, died at Geneva. He had been all through the great war, at the battle of Copenhagen with Nelson, and lost his arm in the celebrated frigate action when Sir James Gordon, in the 'Active,' took the 'Pomone.' Subsequently he was at the battle of Algiers, &c.[1]

May 17th.—A most curious discovery has been made at Madrid. Just at the time when the question of religious liberty was being discussed in the Cortes, Serrano had ordered a piece of ground to be levelled, in order to build on it, and the workmen came upon large quantities of human bones, skulls, lumps of blackening flesh, pieces of chains, and braids of hair. It was then recollected that the *auto da fé* used to take place on that spot in former days. Crowds of people rushed to the place, and the investigation was continued. They found layer upon layer of human remains, showing that hundreds had been inhumanly sacrificed. The excitement and indignation this produced among the people was tremendous, and, the party for religious

[1] He was sent there in H.M.S. 'Prometheus,' a month before the battle, to get the English Consul and his family off, which, as the Dey was very suspicious of our intentions, was difficult. The Consul refused to leave, but his wife, in disguise and her baby in a basket, went down to Captain Dashwood's gig. Just as they passed through the gate of the town the child cried and betrayed them; the guard turned out, and it was only by rushing down to the boat that the crew and the whole party narrowly escaped being taken prisoners, and reached the 'Prometheus' in safety.

freedom taking advantage of it, a Bill on the subject was passed by an enormous majority.

May 18th.—We went down to Heron Court for the Whitsuntide holidays. Thorns, laburnums, and rhododendrons in a blaze of colour, but I was kept at home by the gout.

May 29th.—There was a meeting of a few Peers at Chesterfield House to receive some deputations from the religious bodies in Ireland. One deputation from the Presbyterians stated that they had made up their differences with the Established Church, seeing that they had been deceived as to the Catholics, having been made to believe that they would not benefit by the plunder, but they now saw their mistake and would stand by us. A great meeting is to be held at Glasgow directly; it looks as if a reaction had set in. Dined at the Wiltons—a large party.

June 1st.—A meeting of the principal Conservative peers took place this morning at the Carlton Club, to consider what course they will take on the Irish Church Bill. Opinions were divided, but the majority were for throwing it out. If our party were united we might do so, but no doubt some will either vote for the Government or stay away—amongst them the two archbishops—so there is no chance of the bill being rejected on the second reading.

June 3rd.—The Life Peerages Bill passed the second reading, on the understanding that only two were to be created every year, and the number limited to twenty-eight. This is the most absurd arrangement that could possibly be conceived, and I shall try to throw it out on the third reading.

June 11*th.*—Lady Carrington called to announce the marriage of her daughter with Lord Petersham. Lord Derby intends to speak on Thursday on the Irish Church Bill.

June 14*th.*—The discussion on the Irish Church Bill came on to-day in the House of Lords, and I could not dine at the Donegals in consequence. Great ball at the Brunnows.

June 17*th.*—A great many went to the House of Lords to hear Lord Derby speak on the Irish Church Bill. All the good places in the gallery were taken early, but several ladies were there who had no right, and some Peeresses were excluded in consequence. Lord Derby's speech was a very good one, and the peroration very eloquent and touching; but his voice was feeble, he looked pale and ill, and his manner had lost its energy. It was altogether very painful for those who love him to see such evident symptoms of failing strength. The mind, however, is as clear and fresh as ever. I came home at half-past three A.M. with the news that the second reading of the Irish Church Bill had passed by thirty-three—179 to 146. Fifty or sixty of our party voted with the Government.

June 28*th.*—I went to the Queen's breakfast to the Viceroy of Egypt, which was very brilliant; but the wind was so cold from the N.E. that it spoiled all enjoyment. Dined afterwards at Stafford House, where there was a banquet to the Viceroy.

July 1*st.*—The Irish Church Bill has been in committee all this week, and several amendments have been passed.

July 3*rd.*—Lord Salisbury's amendment respecting the

glebe-houses and land was carried by a majority of 144—213 to 69—many Liberal peers voting with the majority. The Duke of Cleveland's amendment to grant equivalent gifts to the Roman Catholics and Dissenters out of the surplus was rejected by a majority of 33.

July 6th.—The debate on the Irish Church Bill was resumed last night in the House of Lords, and the Archbishop of Canterbury proposed three amendments. He withdrew the first two, but the last, 'to vest grants, royal as well as private, in the new Church body,' was carried by a majority of 50. Lord Cairns's amendment on the sixty-eighth clause, reserving the surplus for future Parliamentary distribution, was carried by a majority of 70, and the Bill passed through committee.

Lord Malmesbury's Speech on the Third Reading of the Life Peerages Bill, July 8th, 1869.

My Lords,—I have given notice, even at this late period of the session, that I shall feel it my duty to oppose the bill of the noble earl (Earl Russell), and to move that it be read this day three months a third time. It is now exactly three months since the noble earl introduced it, and it is for him to explain why he has allowed it to remain so long under your Lordships' consideration; but I believe the more you have seen of it the less you have liked it. The object of the noble earl in bringing forward the bill is, no doubt, a very worthy one. It is, as I understand, to strengthen the practical powers of the House, to increase its prestige, and enable eminent men, who do not possess a large fortune, to sit in the House, without transmitting to their descendants the expenses, or supposed expenses, of an hereditary peerage.

Now, I venture to think that this House requires very little increase of practical power and prestige. I am aware that many persons, both in their speeches and writings, have represented that this House is not on a level with the opinions of the times, and that it cannot, therefore, march *pari passu* with the House of Commons; but that does not appear to me to be the case.

What, let us consider, is the composition of this House, as the oldest legislative body in Europe, and as the highest in character and general respect? Some persons have said that it is a House of mere landowners—that is, men of a sort of upper-class farmers—and being so, that they are not as fitted as they might be for the consideration of the general questions which agitate the world. But is that the fact? Of course many of us are landowners, and are not, I think, as such, incapacitated from considering general questions; but it is not true that we are only landowners. Property of every kind belongs to members of this House. We are not only owners of land, but owners and even lessees of mines and other industrial property. Among us there are also bankers, railway directors, and men most eminent for their knowledge of commercial affairs, such as the Marquis of Salisbury and other peers. There are others who are eminent officers in the army and navy, who are ready to enter upon discussions of interest to your Lordships relative to those professions. There are more than fifty peers who have been eminent and distinguished members of the House of Commons. There are eminent diplomatists like Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and Lord Cowley. There are historians, among whom I may name my noble friend behind me[1] (Earl Stanhope), who, if ever

[1] The late Lord Stanhope.

your Lordships were mistaken on any point of history, would set you right. There are writers, both of prose and poetry, including my noble friend opposite (Lord Houghton), and another noble lord (Lord Lytton), than whom no English writer can be more distinguished. There are twelve or fifteen peers who possess immense leasehold property in this metropolis, and who can assist us in discussions on property, and who are conversant with the wants of the middle and lower classes. There are eminent lawyers, and a great number of magistrates, accustomed to judicial decisions, many of them being chairmen of quarter sessions. Now, if your Lordships consider this catalogue of peers with various qualifications, is it possible to suppose that a legislative assembly can be more complete in its construction than the House of Lords is?

This assembly, as I understand it, has existed for about four centuries, and I am not aware that at any period it has done anything to derogate from its character and dignity. It is not for a member of the House to say much on the subject; but during the last few days or weeks your Lordships—according to the opinions of the public Press, and of public opinion everywhere expressed—have most creditably, in the eyes of the country, maintained your powers of debate and your general capacity in considering important subjects. Well, that being the case, I ask your Lordships whether you think there is any necessity for altering one of the fundamental rules of our Constitution—namely, that peerages should be hereditary? I venture to think there is not. When I consider the opinion of the noble earl himself, that such a measure as he has proposed is necessary in order to popularise this assembly, I feel compelled to differ from him altogether. We have had what may be considered the test

of the opinion of the people transmitted to us recently by a gentleman supposed to represent the most popular opinions of the day, and one, at the same time, representing Her Majesty's Government. That right hon. gentleman has publicly declared that this Bill is but a childish tinkering of legislation. It is no less a person than Mr. Bright, a distinguished member of Her Majesty's Government, who has expressed himself thus. Now, I want to know whether Her Majesty's Government generally agree with Mr. Bright on this point. At all events, so far as the argument of the noble earl goes, as to the necessity of such a bill in order to make this assembly more popular, I think the evidence of the right hon. gentleman in question is worthy of consideration, for he is supposed to know pretty well what the popular opinion is, and it would be hardly fair to make this an exception and assert that he cannot answer for popular opinion on this subject.

The noble earl's second reason for introducing this bill was, that it would give an opportunity to men of eminence and ability, but without fortune, to enter this House. Now, he has not given any names to prove that any eminent men who would have done good service in this assembly would have refused peerages on account of their being hereditary. It would be hardly becoming to mention the names of living persons; but I may mention two very eminent men who declined entering this House because they had no children. And I have always thought it one of the noblest feelings of human nature that a man should not be ambitious of a seat in your Lordships' House from any selfish vanity, but in order that he might transmit the honour to his descendants. Your Lordships will probably recollect the very touching letter written by Mr.

Burke to Mr. Pitt, when, being offered a peerage, he said that ambition and life had lost all interest in his heart since the death of his only son. On that ground he refused a peerage; and Lord Kingsdown, whose death has been so great a loss to this House, to my knowledge, more than once refused to accept a peerage—although he was so eminent in his profession and was so calculated to confer honour on the House—because he had no family. It is true that, ultimately, he felt it his duty to accept it. It is supposed that there are men who would accept life peerages; but I very much doubt whether any such men as your Lordships would wish to enter this House would do so. Of course, there are men who would accept anything that is offered them; but these are not the persons whose admission the noble earl contemplates. It appears to me that they would stand in such a false position that no men with the usual amount of pride and self-respect would accept these peerages. They would not be your Lordships' peers, according to the true sense of the expression, because they would not be your equals in respect of privileges. They would not transmit the title to their descendants; and they would, therefore, be on a different and lower footing from the rest of the House. They would not be nobles, because the very essence of nobility is in the succession of the title to posterity. They would thus be in a false position, to say nothing of the equivocal position of their families, both sons and daughters.

I do not think, therefore, the noble earl would really get such recruits as he wishes, and such as your Lordships would like to see added to this assembly. If, however, such recruits could be got, observe the political power which would be given to a Prime Minister. I have seen in the public prints a suggestion that a man with such a philosophic

mind as the late member for Westminster (Mr. Mill) might very properly be made a life peer if such a measure as the present were passed. Now I do not think that that was a good illustration of the advantage supposed to be derived from this measure; for supposing the noble earl had been Prime Minister, and had created Mr. Mill a life peer under this bill, he would certainly not have popularised this House by admitting a man who had just failed in an attempt to get a seat in the House of Commons by popular election. Life peerages would present a temptation to a Minister, much more than is the case with hereditary peerages, to create peers in order to gain political strength; and if they were courted, the result would be that every year the Minister would have before him a list of candidates for that distinction. Thus, if the noble earl's expectations be correct, there would be great objection from a political point of view. Mr. Bright has spoken of the bill in terms of the utmost contempt; and whether or not he is right in thinking this bill would give no satisfaction to the middle and lower classes, it is my belief that persons who accepted those peerages would find themselves attended with such inconveniences that they would regret having done so. At all events, I think that it has not been proved that this change in our ancient Constitution is necessary or expedient, and, in the absence of such proof, I protest against a change in our Constitution, which has been successful in operation for more than four centuries. For these reasons it is that I move that the Bill be read a third time this day three months.

July 9th.—Third reading of the Life Peerages Bill came on last night in the House of Lords, which I was determined to oppose, although it had been supported by Lord Derby,

Lord Cairns, and a number of my party. I therefore made a deliberate speech against it, and to my great satisfaction succeeded in throwing it out by a majority of twenty-nine —106 to 77—converting to my views both my leaders and many others who had supported the Bill. I had returned from Italy on purpose to effect this, and to have done so at the last stage was an unexpected and very agreeable success.

July 12th.—Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, voted with the Government on the Irish Church Bill. Someone observing him going out with them in the division said: 'The Bishop of Oxford is going the wrong way.' 'No,' observed Lord Chelmsford, 'it is the road to Winchester.'[1] Lord Devon moved the omission of the reservation in Clause 13 of the right of present Irish bishops to retain their seats, and carried it by 182. He had never given Lord Cairns the slightest intimation of his motion, and had been canvassing, with the assistance of Lord Bath. Lord Stanhope then moved his amendment to provide residences for the Roman Catholic priests and Presbyterian ministers, and carried it by 121 to 114. A great many Whigs voted against the Government, and a number of our side with them. The bill then passed, and the House adjourned at twelve o'clock.

July 16th.—Dined at the Bradfords. The House of Commons threw out the Lords' amendment last night in the preamble, postponing the appropriation of the surplus, by 222. The Concurrent Endowment clause was rejected by a majority of 89, and all the other amendments, except immaterial ones, met with the same fate, Gladstone showing the greatest hostility and bitterness. He proposes

[1] He was afterwards made Bishop of Winchester.

to give 500,000*l.*, in lieu of grants, to the Church, which, of course, is a much smaller sum than it is entitled to.

July 21*st.*—The Irish Church Bill was brought back to the Lords, and Lord Cairns moved 'that the Lords do insist on the amendment made in the preamble to which the Commons have disagreed.' The motion was carried by 78. Lord Granville then adjourned the House, saying he could not go on with the Bill without consulting his colleagues.

July 22*nd.*—The House of Lords has agreed to a compromise. Lord Cairns settled it with Lord Granville, taking the whole responsibility upon himself, for he never consulted any of his party, and a great many are much displeased. Lord Derby was so angry that he left the House. Gladstone wanted to throw up the bill after the debate of last Tuesday, when the words of the preamble were re-inserted, but he was out-voted in his Cabinet, and it is said that Lord Granville told him that if he gave up the bill he must find somebody else to lead the Lords. He must have intended to provoke a collision between the two Houses, and the feeling he showed on this occasion proves, and not for the first time, what his sentiments are against that institution.

Lithographed Circular from Lord Cairns to the House of Lords.

July 24, 1869.

My Lord,—I am unwilling to rest upon my public statement the explanation of the course adopted by me on Thursday in reference to the Irish Church Bill; a course which was, and to those Peers who have honoured me with their confidence must have appeared to be, a wide departure from the limits of duty under which such confidence is usually reposed.

It was only at mid-day on Thursday that I satisfied myself that there was a willingness on the part of the Government to make such concessions as it might be possible to accept, and it was not

until a few minutes before five o'clock that the precise details of these concessions were completely specified.

It would have been an inexpressible relief to me had I then been able to consult with all, or even some, of those with whom I was acting; not only because I should thus have avoided a serious responsibility, but also because I could have pointed out in private, what I could not do publicly, the material advantages which appeared to me to flow from these concessions, as compared with a prolonged contest.

To consult, however, or even to delay, was obviously impossible, and I had to choose between the alternatives of declining an arrangement which could not have been renewed after the debate had commenced, or of accepting terms which, while they secured more for the Church than I believe would ever again have been obtained, enabled us to put an end to what was a violent, and was rapidly becoming a dangerous, strain upon the constitutional relations of the two Houses.

I could not but choose, at any risk, the latter alternative, and the only circumstance which could make me regret my choice would be if any member of the party should suppose that I had wantonly, or even willingly, taken such a step without that full communication and consultation which is always desirable.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, your faithful servant,

CAIRNS.

August 12th.—I arrived at Chillingham from Lowther Castle. Found Sir Edwin Landseer staying here, with his friend Mr. Hill, who is taking care of him, as his mind is affected, and has been so, more or less, ever since he had a severe accident on the railway; yet he painted two beautiful life-size pictures of red deer for Lord Tankerville.

August 13th.—The papers to-day announce the death of Lady Palmerston,[1] which took place at Brocket, after a week's illness. She was the last of the four friends—Lady

[1] Lady Palmerston had been the widow of Earl Cowper, and was sister of Lord Melbourne. Her younger son inherited Broadlands, Lord Palmerston's property in Hampshire.

Jersey, Lady Willoughby, and Lady Tankerville. They began life together, married at the same time, were firm friends all their lives, and died at the same age.

August 18*th.*—We went to Longleat, where we found a family party and Sir A. Paget.

August 23*rd.*—Returned to Heron Court.

October 3*rd.*—I was grieved to-day to hear that Ferdinand St. Maur died last Thursday. It must have been sudden, for when I saw Lady Ulrica, his sister, at Longleat, she never mentioned that her brother was ill. What dreadful sorrow has fallen on the Duke and Duchess of Somerset, losing their two sons within so short a time!

October 14*th.*—The accounts of Lord Derby are bad, and I am very unhappy. I got a sad letter from Freddy Stanley, but he does not seem to have quite given up all hope.

October 16*th.*—Left Heron Court for London. I called to inquire for Lord Derby—the account was very bad. I saw Colonel Talbot, his son-in-law, who says there is no hope.

October 17*th.*—The news of Lord Derby is much the same. He is gradually sinking.

October 18*th.*—Lady Malmesbury got a very pretty letter from Lord Stanley, full of affection for his father and mother, and kindness to us, but he gives very little hope. There is a report that the Liverpool doctor, not calculating on his weakness, gave him a dose of opium equal to what he was accustomed to prescribe for him when in comparative health, and that it produced a state of collapse from which he has never rallied.

October 21*st.*—Lord Derby still lives, but gets weaker every day; he is quite unconscious, and has taken no nourishment for several days.

October 23*rd.*—Lord Derby died this morning at seven o'clock. In him I lose my greatest friend, and the country a most brilliant and accomplished statesman.

The public acts which will be most closely associated with his name are the emancipation of our slaves in the West Indies, which he accomplished when Colonial Secretary; in the ready recognition of the Second French Empire under Louis Napoleon, in spite of the grudging hesitations and objections of the Great Powers to follow suit; and thirdly, the passing of his Reform Bill in 1867, under which law we are now living and have lived for seventeen years. When Prime Minister, which he was three times, he was always in a dead minority in the House of Commons, and therefore hampered in all his policy. He thus never had a fair chance of developing his wishes, and died before the wheel of fortune turned, in 1874, in favour of the Conservatives, which enabled Disraeli to display unfettered that genius which will render his administration one of the great landmarks of English history.

With regard to Lord Derby's power of speech, I never heard but one opinion—namely, that he was the most popular orator of his time. This seemed proved by the fact that whenever he was expected to address the House of Lords on any great question the place could hardly hold the audience which flocked to hear him from every part of the building—the galleries being always crowded with

peeresses. I never saw this impression made by any other speaker there excepting Lord Lyndhurst. There was a peculiar charm in Lord Derby's voice—which was a pure tenor—and in the brilliancy and English character of his diction. If he has been called the Rupert of Debate, it must be from the vigour of his charge alone, for he had none of the rashness of his prototype, but, on the contrary, much reflection and calmness before action, and was very nervous before making a prepared speech.

The death of Lord Derby was followed, in 1870, by that of Lord Clarendon, the able English Foreign Secretary, by the Franco-German war, and by the collapse of Louis Napoleon's Empire. I have had so many relations with the latter which I have noticed, that I do not think it out of place, before I conclude my memoirs, to relate some episodes of his remaining life.

On April 18 I left London for Florence, on a visit to Sir A. and Lady Paget,[1] who held the British Legation, and after a fortnight most agreeably passed there, returned to Paris. The *plébiscite* had just been repeated, to confirm the Liberalised Constitution under the Olivier Ministry, and resulted in an approval of the Emperor and his Government by above 7,000,000 votes. The Duc de Gramont was just made Minister of Foreign Affairs, and on May 19 the Emperor gave a dinner, said to be in honour of the Duke's installation, to which he invited me.

I found him much altered in appearance, and looking very ill, it being three years since I had seen him. He re-

[1] When the monarchy of Italy was unified, Sir A. Paget was appointed Ambassador at Rome. The Embassy residence near Porta Pia was a very bad one, but is now the best and handsomest in the Diplomatic Service, having been nearly rebuilt, principally under the direction of Lady Paget, who has all the instincts of art in practice as well as theory.

ceived me with his usual kindness, and made me sit by the Empress at dinner, where I had the advantage of admiring her beautiful shoulders. On her right sat the Duc de Gramont, the rest of the company consisting of Sir John and Lady Stanley (*née* Talleyrand) and some French guests. The Empress and Gramont both abused the Press, which always was her *bête noire*. Increased liberty had been given to it, or rather to newspapers, and both my neighbours seemed to think it dangerous, although the *plébiscite* had been so favourable to their wishes. After dinner the Emperor invited the men to the smoking-room, where he took me aside, and I had a remarkable conversation with him. I naturally began by congratulating him on his *plébiscite*, which was just counted up, but I found that he was not satisfied, as some 50,000 of the army had voted '*Non*.' He, however, explained that this had taken place in certain special barracks where the officers were unpopular and the recruits numerous, and that 300,000 soldiers had voted for him. This immediately struck me as strange, for I imagined his army was in numbers 600,000, and I made the remark, to which he gave no reply, but looked suddenly very grave and absent. He observed later that Europe appeared to be tranquil, and it was evident to me that at that moment he had no idea of the coming hurricane, which suddenly broke out the first week of the following July.

His tone was altogether more sedate and quiet than I found him formerly employing. No speculative and hypothetical cases were discussed by him, and I feel sure that not a thought of the impending idea of a Hohenzollern being a candidate for the Spanish throne had crossed his mind. Count Bismarck had kept it a profound secret, and that very deep secresy and sudden surprise is the strongest proof of

his intention to force a quarrel upon France. The Emperor did not conceal, in his conversation with me, his disappointment in regard to Italy, which had become free, and then was under one sovereign; and he recognised that a great number of his own subjects considered that he had committed a terrible political error in being the cause of creating a strong and growing kingdom on the very frontier of France and in the Mediterranean. 'What would Italy do to show her gratitude?' he asked. The events of the following two months answered his question: 'Nothing.'

My impression as to his having given a Constitutional Government to France was that it was more the result of bodily suffering and exhaustion from a deadly disease than from any moral conviction; and that he felt, as he must have done, that the life left him was short, and that his son would have a better chance of quietly inheriting his throne under a parliamentary and irresponsible *régime*. Perhaps he was right, if he had found able Ministers; but that was not the case, and their mismanagement at the provocations of Prussia under Bismarck must always be cited as the most incapable diplomacy on record.

The result of my visit and conversation with the Emperor was one of extreme pain, for I saw that he was no longer the same man of sanguine energy and self-reliance, and had grown prematurely old and broken. The Duc de Gramont was an agreeable and polished man in society, but vain and impetuous, and had more liberty of action than was given by the Emperor during his former *régime* to his Foreign Ministers. The Duke himself gave me the following account of the last scene on July 14, before the declaration of war:—

The Hohenzollern candidateship to the throne of Spain

was abandoned, and the Emperor was decidedly disposed to accept this renouncement and to patch up the quarrel, and turn this result into a diplomatic success; but his Ministers had avoided no opportunity of publishing the insult to all France, and the Press stirred the anger and vanity of the public to a pitch of madness. None had yet taken advantage of this characteristic temper of the Emperor. Before the final resolve to declare war the Emperor, Empress, and Ministers went to St. Cloud. After some discussion Gramont told me that the Empress, a high-spirited and impressionable woman, made a strong and most excited address, declaring that 'war was inevitable if the honour of France was to be sustained.' She was immediately followed by Marshal Le Bœuf, who, in the most violent tone, threw down his portfolio and swore that if war was not declared he would give it up and renounce his military rank. The Emperor gave way, and Gramont went straight to the Chamber to announce the fatal news.

Such was his account to me of the most momentous transaction which has occurred in Europe since 1815. In it I do not see in the Emperor the same man who, with so much caution and preparation, bided his time before he attacked Austria in Italy in 1859, and who with such rare perseverance after years of failure and prison raised himself to what appeared to the world an impossible throne. I attribute this change in the Emperor, first, to his broken health and acute sufferings, and to a mind which had been weakened since he renounced his personal rule for the advice of responsible Ministers. From the moment he did this in 1860 and 1869 his old enemies attacked and undermined him with increased power, and were joined by those who had formerly upset, by their incapacity, the Bourbon and

Orleans dynasties,[1] all being bent on abusing the new freedom he had granted.

On March 20, 1871, Louis Napoleon landed at Dover after his captivity at Wilhelmshöhe, and on the 21st I went down to Chislehurst to see him. The Empress and his son met him at Dover, and his hearty reception by the crowd must have shown him the generosity and also the gratitude which the English people felt at the steadfast policy[2] of friendship which he had for twenty years displayed for their country. After a few minutes he came into the room alone, and with that remarkable smile which could light up his dark countenance he shook me heartily by the hand. I confess that I never was more moved. His quiet and calm dignity and absence of all nervousness and irritability were the grandest examples of human moral courage that the severest Stoic could have imagined.

I felt overpowered by the position. All the past rushed to my memory: our youth together at Rome in 1829, his dreams of power at that time, his subsequent desperate attempts to obtain it; his prison, where I found him still sanguine and unchanged; his wonderful escape from Ham, and his residence in London, where, in the riots of 1848, he acted the special constable like any Englishman. His election as President by millions in France in 1850; his further one by millions to the Imperial Crown; the part I

[1] Thiers, Guizot, &c.

[2] Englishmen remembered the Crimean war and his sympathetic action when, *proprio motu*, he took their part against the seizure of the American delegates who were coming over in the British packet. Still more when, in the crisis of our Indian Mutiny, our safety depended on rapid action, the Emperor offered to allow our troops a passage through France. His reception of the English at Paris during his reign was exceptionally friendly, and must have been felt and contrasted with that which they used to meet with under previous Governments.

had myself acted as an English Minister in that event, which had realised all his early dreams; the glory of his reign of twenty years over France, which he had enriched beyond belief,[1] and adorned beyond all other countries and capitals; his liberation of Italy—all these memories crowded upon me as the man stood before me whose race had been so successful and romantic, now without a crown, without an army, without a country or an inch of ground which he could call his own, except the house he hired in an English village.

I must have shown, for I could not conceal, what I felt, as, again shaking my hand, he said: 'A la guerre, comme à la guerre. C'est bien bon de venir me voir.' In a quiet, natural way he then praised the kindness of the Germans at Wilhelmshöhe; nor did a single complaint escape him during our conversation. He said he had been *trompé* as to the force and preparation of his army, but without mentioning names; nor did he abuse any one, until I mentioned General Trochu, who deserted the Empress, whom he had sworn to defend, and gave Paris up to the mob, when the Emperor remarked, 'Ah! voilà un drôle.' During half an hour he conversed with me as calmly as in the best days of his life, with a dignity and resignation which might be that of a fatalist, but could hardly be obtained from any other creed; and when I left him that was, not for the first time, my impression.

When I saw him again in 1872 I found him much more depressed at the destruction of Paris, and at the anarchy prevailing over France, than he was at his own misfortunes; and that the Communists should have committed such

[1] This was proved by the facility with which France paid her enormous forfeit to Prussia for the War.

horrors in the presence of their enemies, the Prussian armies, appeared to him the very acme of humiliation and of national infamy.

On January 9, 1873, he died in the presence of the Empress, who never left him, released from the storms of a fitful existence, from intense physical suffering, and saved from knowing the loss of his only son, whose fate she was soon destined to deplore alone.

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